THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

September 18, 1948

GOP ON CHINA

AN EDITORIAL

'Liberated Area' Workshop

A Report

Kaifeng Today

Hsieh Ching-an

Italian Women In Politics

Alice S. Rossi

INDEPENDENT TAIWAN?

AN EDITORIAL

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

Golden Chance

To The Editor:

Owing to the catastrophic spiraling of commodity prices, we teachers, receiving only a handful of fapi as our salary, have suffered greatly from hard living for a long time. Toiling and toiling, we are forced to do what H. W. Longfellow instructs us, "Learn to labor and to wait." Looking at the plight of China politically as well as economically, every one of us cannot help sighing, "How can it be helped?" As in a thunder-storm, we are just waiting for sunshine. As in a dark night, we are longing for dawn.

Suddenly, to my great surprise, good news from Nanking was widely spread from the lips of every man in the street. It was the announcement of currency reform by the Government. And it is not a beautiful dream but an established fact. According to press reports, the Government boldly decided to abolish the old fapi and issue a new currency called the "Gold Yuan" with 100 percent reserves.

Here, beginning from the morning of August 23, a lot of people of different classes, crowded into the Central Bank of China with fapi, gold, or silver dollars in their hands to exchange for "Gold Yuan." On the first day more than 80,000 silver dollars were voluntarily surrendered, not to mention a great deal of gold and lumps of silver. Since the issuance of the "Gold Yuan," a week has elapsed. Generally speaking, there has been a very good response in the market. Judging from the case at present, we are firmly convinced that the *lao pai hsing* have made up their minds to support this capital plan so as to rid themselves of the catastrophe approaching. This obviously shows that the people have placed their entire confidence in the Government. Therefore, it is exactly a golden chance for the Government to recover its past glory, to win the hearts of people, and to save all good citizens from the sea of suffering. If this reform should fail, the Government would undoubtedly collapse. This is really a ray of hope shining upon China's future. We wholeheartedly expect this excellent plan to bear good fruit.

T. Y. LI.

Lanchow, Kansu
August 30, 1948

Police Parade

To The Editor:

The other day I had bad news. I was told that a policeman who stood guard over the door of a theater was killed by some wounded soldiers. After this accident, the theater was forced to close for a day. As to the wounded soldiers, none of us appreciate their conduct. They are supposed to be honorable warriors who are allowed to see movies or visit the opera at half the usual entrance fee or free.

THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

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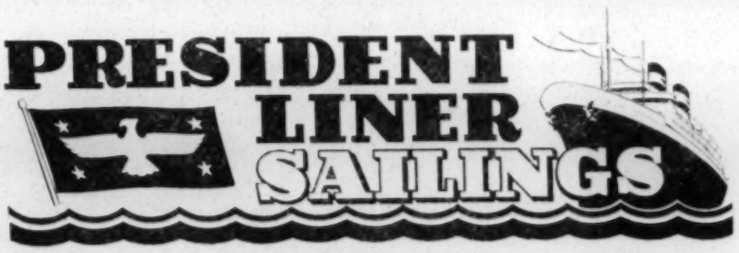

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A week ago I myself saw two wounded soldiers with their crutches enter a theater where Chinese opera was playing. They took front stalls and in a very haughty manner ordered the usher to bring them cups of tea. When the usher did not scurry to obey them, they reprimanded him. The usher hurried off and in his terror brought back only boiled water instead of tea; fortunately one of the soldiers preferred water but nonetheless, the usher had a few bad moments. He did not dare ask the soldiers to pay for the drink but asked me, an on-looker, instead. The soldiers looked as though they had no intention of paying for the drink. This troubled me a great deal.

A few days later I was dining with some friends at a restaurant when upon sitting down we heard a great noise coming from the street. We looked out and saw that there was a long parade of policemen dressed in yellow, marching to the provincial government to demand that the murderer of their colleague be punished. Many were crying and some were yelling out indignant slogans at the top of their voices. This was the police parade in Hangchow.

L. T. W.

Hangchow
August 15, 1948

Liquidating Students

To The Editor:

No words can express our indignation at witnessing the arrest of 13 of our schoolmates and of Professor Hsin-Tsai Kang, Secretary-General of North China College concurrently. These persons were arrested on the evidence of gestapo students who reported them to be communists. On the morning of August 19, the college campus was besieged and every schoolgate was guarded by policemen and M.P.'s.

Later, the chief officer went to see the proctor to present him with warrants for the arrest of 16 students. He asked that the school make the arrests immediately. As this is an unlawful procedure, the school authorities refused to do so. The proctor insisted that the students should go about the procedure legally and present themselves at court the next morning when judgment could be heard. I should like to bring to your attention that some of these unfortunate students were hated personally by the gestapo students because the latter had failed to win elections in the general election of the Students' Council. (See *China Weekly Review*, May 22, 1948). There is no doubt that this is the reason why these students were reported.

To protest against this unlawful arrest, over 100 students gathered together and remained in the upstairs classrooms. Unfortunately, under the direction of the gestapo students, ignorant policemen went upstairs and arrested 13 of the protesting students after beating them; one student got his ears boxed. Five of the 13 students together with Professor Kang were arrested without warrants. Professor Kang is a man who has devoted himself to education and is widely recognized as an impartial educator concerned with China's interest. How can he be recognized as a communist? And if Professor Kang and these five students were communists, why didn't the government issue a warrant to arrest them? Can such actions take place in a democratic country?

During the night, gestapo students inspected dormitories, sometimes with pistols in their pockets. Anyone can be arrested either for being impolite or for being hated by these students. If we hold a debating meeting to discuss some technical problem, we are closely watched by these gestapo students. If we speak one word of criticism we are reported and our names put on the blacklist. I sincerely hope that the government will treat the professors and students fairly and not as their enemies any longer. If these students really are communists, they should be treated according to the law; if they are not, the government must be held responsible for what it has done to them.

GST

North China College
West City, Peiping
August 31, 1948

Kashmir Raiders

To The Editor:

The Pakistan troops and the tribal raiders have been playing havoc in Kashmir for the last 10 months, but recently they seem to have increased their inhuman activities while the United Nations tries to find a solution. Last week, the savage raiders murdered about 500 Buddhists in Ladakh, including the Lama of Ganskar Padam, one of the biggest monasteries there. In the whole of Ladak valley and Leh, the raiders are concentrating on desecrating monasteries, plundering whole villages and leaving nothing but ruins. The whole non-Muslem population is being exterminated systematically and an attempt is being made to settle the Muslems from Pakistan or the tribal areas. They seem to be hurrying through this nefarious plan of exterminating non-Muslems and settling Muslems from outside Kashmir, with the view of increasing votes for Pakistan, when the expected plebiscite takes place. They are oblivious of the fact that despite all their terroristic methods, the brave and patriotic people of Kashmir—Muslems and Non-Muslems both—are firmly supporting their great leader, Sheik Abdulla (a Muslem); and that they can never be forced to join the communal, oppressive and semi-feudal state of Pakistan, which has brought countless suffering to them.

The conscience of humanity would revolt at the arson, massacre, plunder and rape committed by the savage raiders and the Pakistan troops. We hope that the United Nations would avoid unnecessary technicalities and not sidetrack the issue as Pakistan is trying to do; but act immediately on the straight complaint brought forward by India that Pakistan is helping the raiders in invading Indian territory in Kashmir, and to avoid danger to peace, Pakistan should be asked to immediately withdraw all help from them. Recently, it has been incontrovertibly proved and Pakistan herself has admitted that her troops are fighting in Kashmir. This belated confession has proved completely the truth of India's stand. Pakistan's claim that her troops are fighting in Kashmir in self-defense is simply fantastic. It is queer that Pakistan should send troops to fight Indian troops in Indian territory and claim that she is doing so in self-defense. The United Nations should guard against these Hitlerian tactics and logic, otherwise its prestige would suffer a great setback in Kashmir.

V. KUMAR.

The National College of
Oriental Studies
Nanking, Sept. 5, 1948

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Scattering Jubilee

To The Editor:

Being one of the earnest readers of your *Review* whose subscription had long expired and who was wondering about your money-piled wall, which separates us from seeing each other, I am glad now that I am again to receive your stately paper in virtue of the sublime appearance of Miss Gold-Unit Banknote. For the time being, Miss Gold-Unit Banknote is scattering jubilee and good luck throughout the country, and I do hope she will continue to be welcomed by everybody and do much more good to our fatherland in the immediate future.

ANTHONY HO CHIAO YI.

Anking, Anhuei
September 7, 1948

China's Floods

To The Editor:

Sailing down from Chungking to Shanghai recently, I had the experience of witnessing one of the many floods which seem to prevail along the Yangtze River. With the idea of making such a sight known to everybody, so as to urge my contemporaries to pay heed to their suffering brethren, I would like to report as follows:

With cliffs and mountains on both sides, the yellow water of the river can only run along the river-bed, and it has no tendency to overflow either bank. Thus, the inhabitants there are safe from being washed away. But from Icheng down to Kiukiang, a much different picture appears before your eyes. What is first seen is the enormous width of the river, so wide that one cannot see either bank. However, I soon saw jutting up out of the water, a willow tree with half its trunk submerged in the water while a straw roof went floating by on the roaring water. Farther on, a view of a piece of green midway in the river contained several water buffalo on it, chewing and moving about. From time to time, a bunch of straw or a piece of wood; and sometimes a leg of a table or a chair raced by our vessel. Even worse, a number of times the purple bloated body of an infant went by in the swirling water.

While our government is only interested in the Civil War, it is no wonder that not much actual news of aid to the victims is ever heard of. I, having no colors, wish to ask our "Constitutional Government" to pay some attention to the following truth. "If you want to win over the Communists and triumph in the coming Capitalism vs. Communism War in the near future, you must have the greater number of the *lao pai hsing* on your side. This is one condition, although not necessarily a guarantee.

LEE SHAN-YI.

Yang-jia-hua, Kiangsi
August 24, 1948

Mikado Collaborators

To The Editor:

The third anniversary of the Mikado's representatives' signature on the enemy's capitulation in Hongkong is not celebrated. Our leading personalities were too deeply involved in the days of the Kempeitai when they shouted: "Down with Anglo-American Aggressors." The Government apparently feels too weak to offend these infallible collaborators by auspicious ceremonies that would remind the big shots of yesterday, today and tomorrow that their Nipponese masters are gone.

A few weeks ago the Legislative Council enacted an ordinance that practically legalizes land deals of traitors who by cooperating with the enemy, and detrimental to the Allied cause, amassed huge fortunes under the syndicates and monopolies which invest in houses.

The Allies have nominally won the War, but the enemy's collaborators have grabbed the profits.

A millionaire who was reported to have died in the Catalina crash was Two Dollar Li, Emperor of Sikiu during the Japanese days. His properties in Macao were said to be worth US$30,000,000.

This collaborator's properties in Hongkong are known to be worth even more. He has been protected by a general who was chief beneficiary of Isogai's Opium Monopoly and Two Dollar Li's co-worker and friend who has been honored for betraying allied agents to the enemy.

Two Dollar Li is now in Nanking. One of his defenders is a lawyer, formerly a political informer to the Japanese Consulate in Hongkong until December 7, 1941, and a legal practitioner in the Captured Territory under Isogai and Tanaka. This lawyer who never studied law and who became a lawyer by his deceased nephew's law school diploma, was a spy for the Kempeitai in Hongkong and is known to have sold out hundreds of Allied workers to the enemy. For selling out the Allies he was rewarded with many a house which is now legalized by Hongkong's government.

The *National Times*, China's mouthpiece in the Colony, says today that among leaders who called themselves anti-America's-Aid-Japan Movement many were aided by the Japanese in the co-prosperity area days.

We have not won the war. While rich collaborators are bossing us today as they bossed us in the days of the Mikado, a former prisoner of war, practically an insane man, was recently sentenced to 14 months' imprisonment for receiving 200 dollars from a person.

J. C. Stewart, his lawyer and formerly President of Hongkong's War Crimes Court, petitioned for special mercy.

Victims of the enemy apparently need special mercy, for the enemy's rich collaborators are still on top.

JOHN W. LYNN.

Hongkong
August 30, 1948

"No Review"

To The Editor:

I am a quasi-judge, who passed the civil servant examination last fall and was sent to Wusih to work. My salary is always delayed even though the sum is quite small.

It is very difficult to live under such conditions, especially when commodity prices keep going straight up. At first, my subscription to your esteemed magazine was possible but as my financial condition went from bad to worse I was forced to stop my subscription and I bought the *Review* by the copy every week from a bookstore. Now, because of the delay in payment of my salary I can not even afford to pay the price for a single copy. So, I am forced to bid good-bye to it but perhaps I shall be able to read it again in the near future if my conditions become better. I hope I shall.

Wusih, Kiangsu H. M. L.
August 18, 1948

Open Letter

To The Editor:

The other day in a letter to the editor of a local newspaper, an unemployed college graduate appealed to the public for employment. Out of a sympathetic heart I did all I could to find a teaching job for him. The next day I received the following letter from him:

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"Dear Sir,

Thanks for your generous favor and the kind interest you have taken in me, but I simply do not wish to take the job. I would rather go begging than teach in a school situated in the country.

Yours,
SO-AND-SO"

This letter has set me to deep thinking.

My dear unemployed friends, in this open letter to you, I intend to write a few words to console you, for I have passed through this state myself. In the meantime I wish to avail myself of the opportunity to point out to you that you yourselves are largely to be blamed when you have failed to find jobs. And I pray you to believe me that I would like to help you, despite your faults. Had I felt indifferent toward you, I should not have taken the trouble to write you this letter. I believe most of you are sincere and worthy of help.

Some of you do not like to work in the country because nobody will extol you for your work, and your work will not be written about. But work in the country must be done by somebody, or it will be forever left undone. Remember, other people in their hearts will appreciate your work all the more, because of your work itself. The agricultural millions of China need your service more than the populace of the large cities. Our Republic has existed for 37 years. What improvement do we see in the land? Many people say that China today is in a worse position than when under the Manchu Emperors. Many of the government officials have been educated abroad. We expected much from them, but we have seen little done by some of them in this time. Are they not fit to handle the work they have undertaken? And, if not, why not? Why have they failed to improve our country? It is all because China, which is basically an agricultural country, has neglected her agricultural development. China's only hope largely lies in her agricultural millions. My friends, do not get the impression that it is necessary for all college graduates to be educated abroad in order to become university presidents or high government officials. There needs to be in your mind a perfect willingness to work in the remote quarters of the country so as to make possible universal education in China. There can be no true democratic movement nor can China achieve her rightful place in the family of nations until and unless the intellectual standard of the village people is elevated.

Friends, yours is a case in which none can help, but you yourselves. Just to grieve over your failures does not help you at all. For the time being, it seems that every avenue of escape from misery is closed against you forever. You used to be able, as you thought, to do anything; but now the cold chill of death has come upon all your powers. You seem to have suffered from a wound too deep for any skillful surgeon to close up. You would have approached your well-to-do friends and influential governmental officials, but you dare not; for even if you dare, you would certainly be disappointed. You are driven to a sense of condemnation and a sense of hopelessness, and all hope for a bright future has vanished. You keep on shouting among yourselves "What is to be done?" "What is to be done?" Friends, there is nothing to be done; at least, nothing which you can do, if you continue to huddle together in the big commercial and political centers like Shanghai, Nanking, Peiping, Tientsin, Canton, and Hankow.

My friends, because you have studied Chinese, English, history, geography and mathematics, do you think you are above the farmers, the laborers, and the soldiers? Does a college education make you so superior that you are too good to help such people? Of course, I must give credit for your many good qualities. From one point of view, I have infinite sympathy and admiration for you. But in most cases, you are totally mistaken about *KNOWLEDGE, EXPERIENCE, SERVICE, PRIVILEGE, CAUSE* and *EFFECT*. You call yourselves college graduates. But have you learned everything that college graduates are supposed to have learned? You appear to think that the moment you graduate you are qualified to hold high and well-paid positions. You neglect the fact that college graduates are but beginners and what you have learned during college days is far from being sufficient to meet the requirements of difficult jobs. And you also forget that the main thing college graduates have to do is to continue to learn, only more extensively. After you have learned much, will you be able to teach others, but not till then.

Young friends, see to it that you give your first thoughts, after your graduation, to service and to learning more—I assure you that you will have a bright and successful future. You must know right well that without sowing in the spring you cannot expect a reaping in the autumn. "As a man soweth so shall he also reap." Oh, my friends, don't be discouraged, but rise up and be willing to go to the remote quarters of your most beloved country, for there you will be employed, and out of that employment will come solid comfort.

'Tis work that can give
Sweetest pleasures while we live,
'Tis service must supply
Solid comfort when we die.

YOUR UNKNOWN FRIEND,
Professor of English,
National Lanchow University.

Lanchow
Sept. 4, 1948

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Vol. 111 Shanghai, Saturday, September 18, 1948 No. 3

The Tao Chi-ming Case

THE case of Tao Chi-ming, a minor secretary of the Ministry of Finance, who has been charged with using his inside information about the currency conversion and new economic regulations to make a private "killing" in Shanghai stocks, has been given considerable publicity in the press and is certainly worth investigating in that it reveals a lot of important and interesting information.

According to the generally published versions of the story, Tao, learning of the proposed economic reforms through a leakage of the information from the Ministry's chief secretary, Hsu Pai-chi, immediately came to Shanghai with his wife who personally dumped a large number of shares in the Shanghai market the day before the reform measures were announced, making a profit of GY50,000.

In commenting upon this case, the conservative Catholic organ, *Yi Shih Pao*, made some extremely strong observations. This paper, which usually reflects the political, as well as the economic and spiritual views of Bishop Paul Yu Pin, said that the case should serve as a basis for a reform of Chinese officialdom. Officials, it said, never observe the regulations governing their conduct and the holding of offices. Most make their fortunes by taking advantage of their positions, and using their wives and relatives as camouflage for illegal activities. They seldom think of how to carry out their duties efficiently and satisfactorily, but only how to keep their illegal activities from being discovered by others.

The paper also touched upon the question of official salaries, urging that they be increased. According to confessions of Tao's wife, the *Yi Shih Pao* said, the couple made a profit of more than GY50,000. Tao's salary in the Ministry of Finance is only GY100 and his ill-gotten gains through foreknowledge of the currency conversion will last him nearly 50 years. Tao Chi-ming is but one of thousands committing similar offenses, the paper continued, but with such small salaries how is it possible to encourage honesty among officials? Despite the fact that the Government is enforcing retrenchment in order to balance the budget, it would be desirable for the money thus saved to be expended on increased salaries for those employees remaining in Government service.

We cannot imagine anyone taking exception to the sentiments expressed by the *Yi Shih Pao*, except, of course, those few members of the Government who continually prattle about how the civil servants must tighten their belts during these difficult days, completely overlooking the fact that most Government salaries are inadequate for food expenses, not to mention "incidentals" such as clothing, housing, etc.

One of the more interesting of the several points raised by the *Yi Shih Pao* is the question of officials using their wives and relatives as camouflage for illegal activities. This, unfortunately, seems to be an all too true observation. During the past several years we have actually seen pretty good evidence of such conduct by a few officials while if one listens to street gossip, which often has a certain value, a great many high officials are said to be engaging in such practices. Naturally one must discount such unverifiable rumors, but the mere fact that they persist from year to year indicates that at least the practice is well enough known to be commonly talked about and to be constantly attributed to this or that important official.

We might even suggest that if the Government intends to push the present reform program completely through, it might not be a bad idea to investigate the financial activities of all important officials. In a country such as China where family and even clan relationships are so important that they frequently transcend all considerations of law and patriotism, this would be an extremely difficult job, but one which might well be undertaken. At least it might have the effect of minimizing the predatory activities of other members of officials' families, who sometimes have been known to gain their illegal ends by "indirect" allusions to their brothers, fathers, cousins or other relatives who may be well known officials, or by outright threats to have an official penalize the victim unless he is willing to play ball with the official's relative. Naturally, care would have to be taken so that such an investigation did not turn into a racket designed to shake down the many legitimate businessmen who happen to be related to officials.

Cleaning up officials' families would be a great step forward for China. While an attempt might well result in failure because of the weight of centuries of tradition, the mere fact that an attempt was seriously made would do a lot toward boosting Central Government prestige in the eyes of the ordinary citizen. Certainly the attempt should be made, but it must necessarily be accompanied by a revised pay scale for all grades of officials, for all of them, no matter what their level, now depend upon personal or family wealth, the fruits of outright corruption, or the money made by other members of their families since their official salaries are insufficient.

The GOP On China

MANY people, both in America and in China, have been happily predicting an enlarged American interest in China should the Republicans capture the White House in the November elections. Many American magazines, led by Henry Luce's *Life*, plus several US newspapers, have been carrying articles analyzing the situation in the Far East and confidently expressing the opinion that the foremost subject on Thomas Dewey's mind is China, which he will help, much more than the Democrats have done, providing of course that he is elected.

While all this sounds very nice and it would appear on the surface of things that no matter who wins, China is to receive large amounts of aid from America, one should consider the situation rather carefully, taking into consideration several important points.

Let us first deal with the Republicans. The Republican Party has for years been the traditionally conservative party on the American political scene. During the terms of Presidents Harding, Coolidge and Hoover, China received precious little aid from the United States, except that these Republican administrations were on the whole friendly toward this country and generally sympathized in principle with her struggles for recognition as an independent world power. However, these three conservative regimes were not greatly interested in the rest of the world. The Republicans were responsible for America's post World War I policy of isolation and her refusal to join the League of Nations. Following the world depression which began in 1929 in the United States, the Republicans were turned out of office and a Democratic administration headed by Franklin D. Roosevelt came to power. Roosevelt was truly a man of great vision. He was concerned not only with the problems of America but with those of the world.

The United States, under the leadership of Roosevelt, began laying the groundwork of united democratic resistance to the Axis aggressors in 1938. It was during Democratic administrations that America participated in two world wars on the side of the democracies. Lend-Lease, UNRRA and the Marshall Plan, all gigantic attempts to aid the world, were undertaken by Democratic administrations.

The Republicans, unable to criticize the Democrats' foreign policy in Europe, in which they have played a secondary role, are training their political guns on what may turn out to be Secretary of State Marshall's major political blunder. If Marshall had maintained his bi-partisan foreign policy approach in dealing with Asia, he might well have prevented China from becoming an issue in the present campaign.

The Republicans say they will give China more aid—at least a lot of prominent Republicans are saying so. Since there has been little in their past actions to indicate that they were seriously concerned over this country, we must view these remarks, especially since they have increased as the election draws nearer, with a certain amount of skepticism. Our skepticism is increased whenever we look back at the Republican record which has been one of isolation, governmental economy, reduced taxes and—for years—extreme conservatism.

This discussion would be incomplete if we failed to estimate China's chances in the event of a Democratic victory in November. The Democrats, we have learned by observation during the past 16 years, are much more likely to turn a favorable ear to requests for foreign and domestic spending. Already China has received considerable amounts in both cash and commodities from Democratic administrations. On the basis of the past record, one might assume that the Democrats will continue to give freely. However, one must not overlook the fact that the Democrats are well aware that their spending in China has not accomplished very many of their objectives. UNRRA failed to relieve or to rehabilitate China to any appreciable extent, the China Relief Mission did not give too much relief, while the fate of ECA is yet to be determined. The Democrats have grown cautious as far as China is concerned. The money for the current program was pried out of them under the strongest of political pressures.

The Republicans, while they are presently willing to make political capital out of the alleged paucity of American aid to Nanking, are not utterly stupid. They understand just as well as the Democrats do how little aid to China has accomplished. Many of the leading members of the present program, including Mr. Stillman, are presumably Republicans and are rapidly becoming aware of some of the "problems" in this country.

It is our guess that neither the Republicans nor the Democrats are going to exert themselves once the election is over to see that China gets more and more aid, especially at the expense of Europe, as has been reported in the local press. While the Republicans at present maintain publicly that they are interested in more aid to China, it seems quite likely to us that both parties privately agree in viewing China's chances for more aid as indeed slim and depend almost entirely upon the outcome of the ECA program.

Independent Taiwan?

A PRESS agency dispatch from Nanking this week quoted the Executive Yuan as denying that there was any chance for an alleged Taiwanese independence movement to succeed. Skepticism was also expressed over the possibility of a separatist movement even existing.

The story, it seems, had its beginnings in Tokyo where it was reported that there was an active underground movement in Japan and Taiwan which is working for the independence of China's newly acquired island province. Upon hearing of this story, the Hsien Representative Assembly of Taichung, Taiwan, radioed the Executive Yuan telling the latter body of the love all Taiwanese bore their mother country, China.

This dispatch is of interest mainly because it indicates that there are still some people talking and thinking of an independent Taiwan. The fact that such a story should have its origin in Japan is significant. First, it seems to us, it is a sure sign of revived Japanese interest in Taiwan which was an integral part of the Japanese Empire for some 50 years. Secondly, it lends strength to the old rumor, following the uprising and its bloody repression by the Chinese in February and March of 1947, that many Taiwanese, deciding that life under the Japanese was better than under the Chinese, began planning a series of moves to get rid of Chinese rule. In the days immediately after the uprising many Taiwanese openly said that their first aim was independence and if that were not possible they desired the following alternatives in the order listed: Trusteeship under the United Nations, trusteeship under the United States, return of Taiwan to Japanese control. Any of these were, they claimed, preferable to Chinese rule.

Few qualified observers took the movement seriously because it was felt that separation from China was an impossibility unless the Taiwanese themselves had the organization and military power to defeat the Chinese in battle, which they did not have. Also, it was thought, feeling naturally ran very high after the repression, which probably claimed a minimum of 5,000 Taiwanese lives. (Taiwanese and foreign eyewitnesses claimed as many as 10,000.) Better government, it was felt, over a period of time would gradually wear down such violent opposition to the "mainland" Chinese.

* * *

THE news that there is some underground politicking between Japan and Taiwan even today becomes even more interesting when one reads the Executive Yuan's denial, which is almost classical in that it might well have been written in the days of the Manchus or some earlier dynasty. The denial consists of quoting from the radiogram received from the Hsien assembly located in a town which was one of the centers of the revolt and where it is reliably reported, many people took to the hills during the repression and have remained there to this day. It says in part, "We particularly resent the insinuation that the people of Taiwan are a hybrid race having no natural bonds with people in any of the neighboring countries and the suggestion that the future of Taiwan should be decided by a United Nations sponsored plebiscite..... It is a well known fact that all the Taiwanese originated either from Fukien or Kwangtung. Because of the corrupt administration of the Manchu regime, we found ourselves under the tyrannical rule of the Japanese for half a century. China's victory over Japanese aggression brought about our liberation and reunion with our mother country. We will continue to play our part in the national reconstruction of the Chinese people."

This message from the "people" of Taiwan really doesn't say anything, except to imply that everything is fine and that the islanders and mainlanders are on good terms. The message, however, is correct in denying that the Taiwanese are not related to their neighbors. With the exception of the aboriginals, which like the aboriginals in South China probably were not closely related to the Chinese, the Taiwanese of today are largely the descendants of Chinese who emigrated there during the fall of the Ming Dynasty. The aboriginals, of course, don't count since they are well on the way to extinction, having been overrun by the more advanced Chinese long ago. The idea of spreading word that the Taiwanese are not Chinese may well be the result of the fine Japanese hand.

However, all the drivel about "mother country" and playing a part in the "reconstruction of the Chinese people" is so much eyewash. The part—an extremely heavy one bordering on slavery—which the Taiwanese were being forced to play in China's reconstruction was precisely the reason for last year's revolt.

If one examines the relationship of China and Taiwan dispassionately, it is easy to see how trouble was bound to come naturally and under the best circumstances, let alone, when Chinese administration fell down on the job. During Japan's 50-year occupation, she developed Taiwan as an important part of her empire. Japan found Taiwan an island of farmers and fishermen. She left it an island of relatively high development, both agriculturally and industrially. There is no denying the fact that under the Japs the people lived in a slave economy, but the Japanese, like some other colonial powers, discovered that in order to continually produce more, the life of slaves must be gradually improved and the economy developed. This the Japs did, building many industrial plants, applying scientific methods to agriculture, giving the people a general, but low level of education, improving their health to a minimum standard, etc. In relation to Japan, Taiwan was a frontier colony, poorly developed and decades behind the home islands. In relation to China, however, Taiwan was a veritable paradise, boasting of agricultural yields which have never been dreamed of in this country, boasting of factories which in China never got beyond the blue print stage, boasting of communications which China probably will never have.

It was into this unenviable situation that China stepped. Taiwan, instead of being an exploited colony of a highly developed country, became in a day a highly developed colony of an extremely backward country. China scraped together many of its best administrators—along with a few shiploads of carpet-baggers—and sent them to take over Taiwan. But even the best of the administrators from the mainland frequently were inferior to the native ones. The engineers from China were often less competent, when it came to actual production and not theory, than the native ones. This one fact alone —which was something that China could not help—was bound to throw a monkey wrench into much of the island's industry.

Further, the Japs, following a system of exploitation, had carried Taiwan's industrial development only to a point where it provided

semi-finished raw materials for Japan's modern industry. For example, Taiwan had a copper concentration plant which supplied half finished ore to Japanese smelters, Taiwan had sugar mills which produced "brown" sugar that was refined in Japan. There were many other examples, such as the aluminum industry which produced aluminum that had to be sent to Japan for fashioning into airplanes or other products. China was unable to make use of this industry because even Taiwan's half developed plant was superior to anything found on the mainland. The result was obvious. Economic stagnation could not be avoided.

On top of these natural difficulties, China's administration was bad. Too many typical bureaucrats, starved through the years in Free China, were sent to this island paradise as a reward for loyal service and they immediately set themselves to the task of making up for years of privation. Families were sent for, jobs were secured for relatives, bureaus were overstaffed, corruption took root. The administration also was required to show a profit in exports to the mainland.

In the end rebellion occurred which, for a few days succeeded in giving the Taiwanese control of large parts of the island. However, troops from the mainland soon arrived and proceeded through Taiwan in such a fashion as to make Sherman's march through Georgia during the American Civil War appear as a Sunday School picnic in comparison. Since then there has understandably been a great dislike of "mainlanders" in Taiwan. However, we doubt if any of the more intelligent Taiwanese leaders who are still alive today really desire independence. An independent Taiwan would be faced with myriad economic, political and military problems which it probably could not solve. Taiwan, unless it is to revert to its pre-Japanese occupation position as the home of a few farmers and fishermen and again be prey for some marauding power, must be tied politically, militarily and economically to some large country. The logical answer, of course, is China. However, China's attitude toward this war prize must be changed considerably if discontent and future revolt are to be avoided.

We understand that with the advent of the Wei Tao-ming administration, there has been considerable improvement. More Taiwanese have been given a voice in the running of local affairs, many of the more venal carpet-baggers have been sent back to the mainland and the drain of money and materials away from the island is not so great as before. However, from reports we receive from various cities in Taiwan, the situation is still not good. The Taiwanese still feel that they are not getting a sufficient share of the profit which their island produces. They still fear that eventually Taiwan will sink to the economic level of the mainland as the island's wealth is squandered in the Civil War.

We would say that there is no question but what Taiwan should remain a part of China. There is no other way. However, it will be in China's own interests if she gives the island good government and a fair deal economically. If she doesn't she will have nothing but trouble in the future and will eventually see the island and its wealth destroyed.

25 Years Ago In *The Weekly Review*

Absolute Ruin

September 15, 1923.

Not only the governments of those nations which have interests in China, but every person in every nation has a vital interest in the problem of China's future. Those who know China best, and who know the temper of some of the nations interested in China are perfectly certain that..... the present trend is toward a ruin that is so awful that we do not even permit our minds to dwell upon the subject, and so we never form any prophecy as to what may be. It is certain that if any prophet 10 years ago had drawn a picture half as dark as the present state of China, he would have been howled down as an unmitigated pessimist not fitted to live among the civilization of the 20th Century. And now the course is so frightfully downward, and the pace so dangerously swift, that no one can see anything but ruin ahead of us. What will come out of the ruin no one knows. Perhaps a divided land in place of the once glorious land we called "China." Perhaps foreign control of what might have been ruled by Chinese. We do not know what may be, but we all know that unless something is done to stop the present decline nothing short of absolute ruin can result.

* * *

China's "Sovereignty"

In the present political discussions relating to China and to foreign relations with China we find frequent reference to China's sovereignty. The Chinese themselves are constantly talking about it in the most serious manner, while many foreigners appear to refer to it as something that either does not exist or exists only as a joke. In many recent articles in some of the foreign language papers, we find the word sovereignty in quotation marks as an indication that the expression must not be taken either literally or too seriously.

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

Robust Maidens Preferred

September 17, 1938.

The war has considerably changed the Chinese ideals of selecting life partners. The old idea of excluding women from social services has been entirely abandoned since the outbreak of the war. Unabashed Chinese girls nowadays discuss their personal problems with their male co-workers when serious war talk runs dry. Although the nation's matrimonial market is on a sharp decline, there are more happy marriages at present than in pre-war years. Experiences have taught the men that, by devoting the same spirit of love and unselfishness to their life mates, as to their country, their chances of making the best out of matrimony are very bright indeed. Chinese youths are taking a more realistic viewpoint, not only of the war, but also in choosing their "equal halves." Men no longer prefer girls with willow waists and delicate beauty. They have lost their patience with the pretty little girls whose main interests are in pleasure and beauty parlors. They want girls who are muscular and robust. They like to meet maidens who can also serve and sacrifice for the nation.

* * *

Geneva Hopes

A slight feeling of relief was perceptible in Geneva as Hitler did not speak any irreparable word nor did he give a fatal pledge in his speech. Geneva hoped that a peaceful settlement will be reached, although it is realized that the temperature in Europe remains at fever heat and it is feared that the coming month will be fraught with anxiety.

'Liberated Area' Workshop

The author of this article, a young American, has been in various parts of Communist China off and on since his first trip into the 'Liberated Areas' under the auspices of UNRRA. He is an expert on farming and farm technique. The article is particularly interesting in these days when one has to rely almost entirely on official propaganda—either pro-Communist or anti-Communist—for information about life in the Red areas. Some of the sources of strength of the Communists, as well as some apparently inherent weaknesses can be seen from this article which gives many details of life in a small community administered by the Communists—Editor.

FOR almost two months Joe and I worked in a small machine and woodworking shop in Chanchih, the heart of the 'Liberated Areas' developing small farm tools which were quite simple but had never before been seen in China. Our small shop had an impressive name, the Taihang Industrial Research Institute, and was impressive from the point of view of accomplishment and ingenuity displayed, if not in size and appearance.

Three two-story buildings, shabby and down at the sills, enclosed three sides of a small brick-paved courtyard. A narrow set of stairs led up to the second floor. Under the stairs and piled in the corner were old gears, shafts, fly wheels, wire rod, and heavy slabs of wood, and in the courtyard an old Japanese ammunition cart stood at one side, while a jerry-built shack housing two mules was propped rakishly against one wall. All day long sounds of files on steel, saws gnawing through hard wood, heavy hammers on the anvil and the whir and clatter of an electric motor turning its many shafts and pullies could be heard coming from the three workshop buildings.

Our first few weeks were spent spent mostly working in the carpentry shop, for we wanted to make our tools of wood whenever possible so that village carpenters might easily copy them. In a bustling, low-ceilinged, ill-lighted room, we carved, cut and designed a series of implements to be tried out by the local farmers.

Master Craftsman

The head carpenter was a master craftsman, an old-style carpenter who never used a nail or a screw if he could help it. An expert with mortise and tenon construction, he sat on his little stool, tools littering the floor around him, and turned out pieces which, when assembled, fitted together like the parts of a good rifle. He was never afraid to try anything new and often thought up improvements on our designs. Three apprentice carpenters helped us. One we called Jap because he looked like a man of Nippon and spoke to us in that corrupt Chinese which the people invented for communicating with Japanese soldiers during the war. Big and slow as a country ox, he would cut his wood much bigger than necessary and then go happily to work planing it down to size, but the finished result usually fitted and was made strong and well. The others in the room were more alert than he, but it turned out he could read the newspaper from cover to cover—and usually did.

The tools used by the carpenters were simple indeed. They had buck saws of all sizes, since everything had to be sawed out of blocks of solid wood. They had good chisels and good wooden planes, but no mallets. For drills they used nails and the old type Chinese twist drill which makes holes the way the American Indians used to make fire.

Next to the carpenter shop was the blacksmith shop. Its master, Comrade Ying, was a quiet, patient man who took the revolution very seriously, much more seriously than the younger men, and was one of the finest craftsmen in the whole place. His entire family worked in the shop with him. The equipment there was European, with huge, 10 and 12 pound sledges wielded by four stout hammer boys, and included pointed anvils set thigh high. Everything made there was beaten out of hard steel rails marked, ironically enough, "Krupp 1909."

New Era Marriage

While we were there, Ying's son got married. It was a New Era wedding, it seems, as both the girl and the boy had agreed to marry of their own accord. The upstairs office was fixed up with flowers and paper streamers and many slogans which read like this: "Celebrate New Style Marriage!" "The Masses Have All Been Liberated!" "Abolish Feudal Ways Where Parents Rule the Marriage and Ride About the Streets in Sedan Chairs!" "When Husband and Wife are of One Mind Production Goes Fastest!" "Promote the New Society; Free Marriage and Free Celebrations!" In the couple's new home, which was next to the mule shanty, hung a bright poster bearing these words: "One is a Worker, one is a Farmer; Together they form a Revolutionary Couple. The boy is a Blacksmith, the girl spins and weaves; Both strive to be Labor Heroes. Such Workers and Peasants are the Main Force of Reconstruction of the Old Society!—Taihang Labor Association, Third Branch."

However, in spite of all these modern slogans and the "free marriage," the boy still treated his bride in an old fashioned manner. He seemed very embarrassed and never spoke to or noticed her in public. She slaved away in the house and he ate his meals with the other young men. Women have a long way to go here before they achieve social equality with their menfolk. They have a life of their own, to be sure, but it is a life apart from the men's life. Only gradually will the two merge.

The lathe room adjoined the blacksmith shop. Here was the most modern equipment of the plant, with an electric motor, two old lathes, a grinder and a power drill press. We had little work for the lathe men to do, and so did not get well acquainted with them. Suffice to say, the two master machinists both had machinist's squint which comes from looking too long at small objects.

There were several others in the workshop who will remain in our memories as outstanding characters, both as individuals and as part of the picture of this area. There was Liu, for instance—a brilliant lad who bore the title of research assistant. He was not only an artist and a designer, but he also had an engineer's brain and could think in three dimensions. Liu was always digging up old catalogues of farm machinery and making us explain, page by page, just how each implement worked and what it was used for. And there was the so-called engineer, a landlord's son who had graduated from one of the Chinese engineering colleges and bristled with his own self-importance. The workers seemed to know more mechanics than he did, but he was, after all, a trained engineer and since these are scarce in the Communist areas he held a position in accordance with his education if not his talents.

Politics Too Abstract

Oldest of the staff was old man Shen, a former student of physics who later taught school for many years. He was the father of the plant and took charge of the workers' education. Every morning at 6:30 they got up for classes in which Shen taught them reading, writing, arithmetic, history and politics. Most popular were the technical classes, for the workers all seemed eager to improve themselves. Least popular were the political courses since, oddly enough, these "revolutionary workers" seemed to feel that politics were a bit abstract and beyond their concern. Shen explained it thus, "The thoughts of these men are just like that of our farmers. They are active in the struggle, they volunteer to fight and take an active part in everything, but when it comes to studying theory and principles—well,

they are like everyone else in the world."

The plant manager was away most of the time we were there. He was at one of those long meetings so common in this part of China where men think nothing of spending two months, or even a year preparing, through group discussion, to carry out some major task. No sooner did he return home than he was off again to another meeting.

We gathered that these meetings were concerned with workers education and the political line necessary for the workers to follow during this period which is a time of attack on "feudalism and bureaucratic monopoly capitalism, but not on small-scale private enterprise." Though we did not get a chance to know the manager well, his influence was marked in the plant. Formerly a worker, he evidently showed great originality and initiative and was rapidly promoted. All the workers talked of his ability with awe. "That's the man you should talk to," they said. "He has a brain."

Land Question

There was one aspect of political study which interested the workers greatly. That was the question: Would they get land? If they got land along with everybody else, how much would they get? And how would they work it? If they didn't get land, what would happen to them in their old age? These questions were hotly debated. The general concensus appeared to be that they need not worry. Their jobs were secure. If the revolution progressed as much in the next few years as it had in the past, by the time they were old they would be taken care of by state and industrial funds. This was not, however, left wholly in the lap of the future. Out of the wages paid each man, five percent was set aside for social insurance, and two percent for education. The social insurance fund took care of sick benefits, old age pensions and funeral expenses. Out of the educational fund, pencils, paper, musical instruments and dramatic props used in the educational and cultural program were paid for. The workers had faith in these funds, for just before we came an old fitter had died and his entire hospital and funeral expense had been paid by the company. Everyone said he had had a better funeral than a middle-class farmer.

So the workers did not worry too much about their old age nor were they pressing too greatly for land. Up to that time, the land policy in regard to workers had not been publicly announced, but people said that full time workers would not get land; that half time workers would get half as much land as others; that everyone else would get land.

All the workers in the plant except some of the newly arrived apprentices belonged to the local union. Its chairman was Chang Shou An, the over-all plant foreman; its vice-chairman was a worker in the fitting room. Ying, the blacksmith, was in charge of organization, while propaganda—that is, education—was handled by one of the young lathe men. This last fellow was distinguished by a remarkable glazed belt buckle, three by four inches square with a yellow dragon on a blue field, the kind of thing motorcyclists back home would give an eye tooth for.

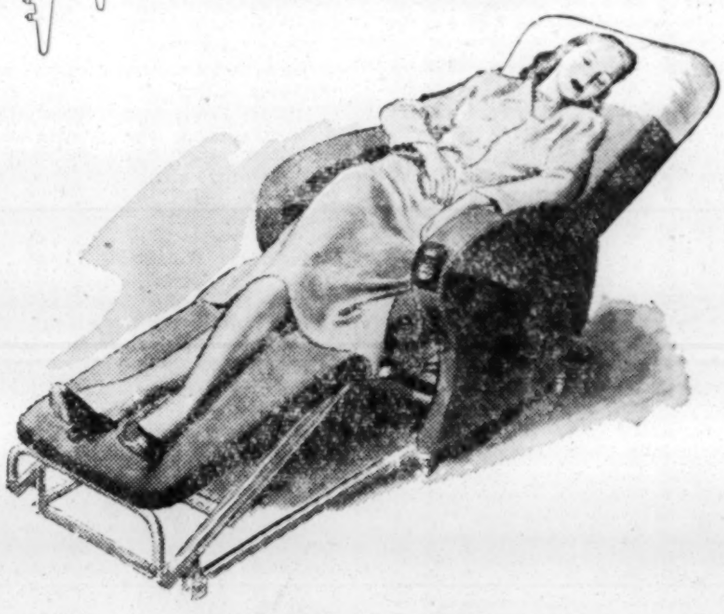
Weekly Meetings

The union met every week in groups representing the various shops to discuss the week's work and iron out any difficulties and problems that had arisen. They often examined each other's work, and took up personal problems of living as well as working. They freely criticized the company and the staff. The aim of these meetings, in the minds of the workers, was to increase production and create the kind of life in the plant which was conducive to work and increased output.

Big questions like wages, hours, holidays, etc. were not decided by this local alone. These are industry-wide issues and are determined by meetings between the Taihang Third Branch and the companies—government and private. Each local sends delegates to the parent body, and that body has the right to summon plant managers and private owners for discussion and settlement of issues.

FLY EAST

FLY WEST



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Although most of the men at the plant belonged to the union, union membership was not open to all. There are certain qualifications which were decided upon last autumn after the "Three Examinations" campaign. This campaign was an effort on the part of the government to determine class background, working spirit and devotion to the revolution, and took the form of extended discussions. Each worker examined his work, his thoughts, his background, and was criticized by the others.

The upshot of all this was a set of new rules for admitting union members. The first is that the candidate must not have been "struggled against," that is, he must not be of a rich farmer or landlord origin, a man who has had land or wealth confiscated. Second, he must have a letter of introduction from his village stating that he is politically reliable. Third, he must work well and meet the approval of his co-workers. Fourth, he must show initiative and responsibility, and last, he must be of good character. During the "Three Examinations" period everyone in the plant had to get a letter from home according to rule two, and all were approved but two men who were kicked out at the very start since the others knew their history well. One was a landlord who was wanted back in his home village to be "struggled against." When he was dismissed, he tried to get a job at another plant, but with no letter had no luck. The other was a rascal who was also wanted by his home village concerning certain irregularities in his past conduct.

New Land Law

With the new land reform law up for high-level discussion, the plant manager and the head of the union were sent off for intensive study. The manager was to come back to lead further group meetings on this new phase of life, while the head of the union was to be sent into the country to help carry out the land reform in the villages. This integration of workers and farmers is reminiscent of the early days in the Soviet Union when the most advanced workers organized squads to go into the country and help set up Poor Peasants Leagues.

Besides the union local, there was what is called a plant committee, which met once a month and was made up of the heads of each shop, the head of the union and the plant manager. It was considered the highest authority in the plant. Parallel to the union structure, this body constituted a sort of labor-management structure of the kind so much talked about in America during the war, but so rarely successful.

What do the workers in the Liberated Areas receive for their labor? If we can consider the Chanchih plant as typical, then it can be said they get food (cooked and ready to eat), housing, electric lighting and water—for themselves and for their families, including children up to the age of seventeen. The amount each worker receives depends not only on his skill and age, but also on the number of mouths he has to feed. There is a definite per capita allotment for each age group, and each family receives whatever is needed for its maintenance. The food is cooked for all in a common kitchen and is carried to the homes to be eaten, or simply dished up hot at the kitchen door. When we were there, a plan was being made for two kitchens and two diets, one more nourishing and expensive for those who did the hardest physical labor. In addition to keep for his family, the worker receives wages depending upon individual skill, and the wives and children do spare time production work of their own, spinning, weaving, sewing, etc., to earn extra money for themselves.

NOTICE

STUDENT READERS

With the currency conversion and the resultant stability in the prices of commodities which are used in producing the *China Weekly Review*, the *Review* has decided to return to its prewar practice of granting a special reduced subscription rate for students. Beginning with next week's issue, and continuing so long as prices remain stable, bonafide student subscribers will be entitled to a discount of 20 percent.

Such subscriptions must be authenticated by the individual student's school and must be sent directly to the offices of the *China Weekly Review* and not through an agent. The students' rate also applies to schools which place bulk orders of the *Review* for classroom work. The special STUDENT SUBSCRIPTION RATE will be found on page 49.

Co-op Planned

Future plans also included organization of a producers co-op for the wives and older children. When the plant moves to a larger site (as it plans to do) and the apprentices bring their families, there will be almost as many women as men and the former can set up a shop of their own with materials supplied by the plant and profits shared according to a value basis.

At the present time, there is a movement underway among the workers of the 'Liberated Areas' which parallels the land reform movement among the farmers. For the workers, however, it is almost entirely an educational movement. The policy of the Communist Party for labor in this period is being explained to all. Since it is not an easy policy to understand or to carry out, a great deal of effort is being made to bring the workers to a full realization of its necessity and implications.

In the old Soviet areas, a policy was followed which is now labelled "left adventurism." It was a policy of everything to the workers; businessmen and manufacturers were expropriated, taxed, forced to pay excessively high wages and to provide what were sometimes impossibly good working conditions. As a class they naturally turned against the revolution.

Now, this policy is condemned in the strongest terms. "This is no time to build socialism," says the Communist Party. This is the period of the 'New Democracy.' Our enemy is not capitalism, but feudalism and the child of feudalism, bureaucratic monopoly capital. At this time we must unite with all anti-feudal elements. Such elements are progressive in the present society, and among them must be counted private capitalists, whose interests and money are tied up in native industry. These are called 'national capitalists,' in contrast to the compradores who hang onto the imperialists' tails and the Government monopolists. It would be fatal to the revolution to antagonize this class at this time since we need both their political support and their physical assets. And they will support us because they are oppressed by imperialism and monopolies."

"Does this mean that we will later have to face a powerful and reactionary bourgoisie?" the Communists ask themselves. "No, it does not. For once the war is won, the People's Government will take into its own hands the great concentrations of industry and capital held by China's four families. This includes almost the entire industrial and communications network of the country. With the basic economy in the hands of the People's Government, with the newly landed farmers moving toward collectivism, and with the workers well organized, the small bourgoisie can be no threat to the future."

Only Possible Course

The policy does not imply giving the small bourgoisie a free hand at the present time, however. "Fair profits and fair wages" is the slogan today. Profits, of course, mean "exploitation," but the degree of "exploitation" is strictly controlled by formulas worked out between the unions, the businessmen and the government. The government of the 'Liberated Areas' is acting as a mediator between employers and employees. It is steering a middle course, the only course believed possible for the present period. It does not throw its weight on the side of the employers in a crisis, nor, on the other hand, does it make profitable business impossible. All this is being explained to the workers through weeks of discussion, and they are taking a hand in working out the "fair profit, fair wage" formulas. They are being made to realize that for the sake of tomorrow's overall picture they are undergoing a small measure of "exploitation" today.

ITALIAN WOMEN IN POLITICS

Alice S. Rossi

THERE are 39 women in the Italian Parliament today, 23 of them were newly elected and 16 of the former Constituent Assembly were re-elected.

They are representatives, in a great majority, of the two outstanding political parties, viz.—of the Christian Democrat, or Church party and of the Popular Front, or Communist party. The latter are the most numerous in Parliament, as the Communist women deputies number 22, the Christian Democrats 15, while one is of the National Block and one a right wing Socialist.

In the late Constituent Assembly, women's representative strength was only 21 women deputies: nine in each of the two outstanding parties; hence, obviously, the new Italian Parliament has almost doubled the number of its women representatives.

Well Organized

Do these figures mean that the influence of Italian women in politics is on the increase or merely that women voters outnumbered the men in the recent elections? In addition, women candidates were well supported, especially the Communist ones who were efficiently organized as well.

In the Italian Senate, or Upper House, there are four women senators: Rita Montagnana Togliatti, wife of the Communist Leader, Lina Merlin, a Leftist Socialist—one of the few women in open opposition to her husbands' political views, for the Hon. Merlin is a Christian Democrat— Rina Palumbo, a Socialist, and Adele Bei, President of the Women's Peasant Association, of a leftist character, who was automatically appointed senator, even before the elections, as an honorary reward for five years political imprisonment.

In the administrative field, to which Italian women were admitted some time ago, they have already produced excellent results, revealing marked aptitude and competence openly admitted by men. In fact, in the municipal administrations throughout Italy there are over 2000 women serving in various capacities, including five or six women mayors.

Only recently, however, since democracy has set in and they have been granted full suffrage, have Italian women become interested in asserting their newly acquired rights. Therefore, politically minded women are still in the making in Italy, as heretofore their natural environment and traditional upbringing has kept them out of public life.

In Italy, as in most Latin countries, there is a tendency to scoff at women who take up political careers—but, perhaps, in a lesser degree than in the past. However, when speaking with men in political circles. I have heard them express unfeigned praise and admiration for women deputies.

Bianca Bianchi, for instance, the young school teacher and right wing Socialist deputy, known as the "blond angel" in Parliament, was loudly applauded at the Constituent Assembly on different occasions, when in her girlish, yet impressive manner, she energetically rejected some of the conclusions reached in the various debates.

During the discussions of the 139 articles of the Italian Constitution, there were burning questions in which women deputies had much to say, such as the indissolubility of marriage, equal rights for legitimate and illegitimate children, women's rights to qualify as magistrates, public and private schools, conscription, etc. It remains to be seen, however, whether their opposition to masculine opinion yielded any definite results in the final decisions.

But admittedly, women who take up politics in Italy, as elsewhere, are not, generally speaking, the most representative in the country and would seem to be carefully chosen for party purposes. Thus, women gifted with personality and brilliant minds do not easily find their way into Parliament, lest they become dangerous rivals.

No Women's Party

As there isn't in today's Italy anything resembling a Woman's Party, or even an independent woman's movement capable of taking a lead in a campaign for purely women's rights, regardless of party affiliation, women's role in the recent elections was, on the whole, a somewhat subordinate one. The political struggle was confined to women's organizations, which are more or less dependent on party policies.

Among the many women's organizations in Italy, two are outstanding: the *Centro Italiano Femminile*, CIF, under the auspices of Saint Catherine of Siena, the patron saint of Italy and the *Unione Donne Italiane*, UDI, a left wing organization.

The former is the largest in number, but the latter prides itself on being the most efficient. The CIF claims a membership of some six million, being a federation of women's forces, of all social ranks, which aims at constructive action in all sections of civil and social life. Its president, Prof. Maria Federici is a member of Parliament and as the association has a marked religious character, it works hand in hand with the interests of the Christian Democratic Party.

The other outstanding women's organization, *Unione Donne Italiane*, UDI, claims a membership of only a million, but is very active and vociferous and its monthly publication "Noi Donne" (We women) gives evidence of seemingly important activities. Its president is a Communist deputy and, naturally, the association has pledged allegiance to the interests of the leftist party.

Alongside of these two outstanding associations, there is a third one, also large in members, *Associazione Nazionale delle Donne Electrici*, ANDE, (Italian Women Voters Association), a non partisan organization whose aim is to prepare the women of Italy for their new responsibilities. Carla Garabelli Orlando, daughter of the eminent statesman, Vittorio Emanuele Orlando, is its National Secretary General and she took a very active part in the recent electoral campaign, organizing women's forums throughout the country in which different party candidates were invited to present their respective programs which were then publicly debated.

It isn't altogether true to state that women's votes in Italy were merely duplicates of their husbands' or of any other man in their orbit. Economic and religious factors certainly played an important part in determining their vote, as the recent war shortage left sad memories of economic privation and, as even today, the rationing system in Italy leaves much to be desired. The sympathy of housewives went spontaneously towards any party which promised to re-establish the law of supply and demand.

Weigh Marshall Plan

While it might seem that women's votes should have been cast, beyond a doubt, in favor of those parties who were making the Marshall Plan an important plank of their platform, thus paving the way for a stream of most needed supplies from overseas, yet, as often happens, the choice was not so simple and clear as it might have seemed to an outsider. Disquieting questions, such as: "Are we to sell our birthright of natural independence for a mess of pottage? What lurks behind this overseas generosity?" These questions were put to the man and woman in the street by propagandists of the opposite parties, so that what seemed apparently a matter of common sense became an intricate political issue instead.

Although Italy is a man's country, women as in the past, were often the power behind the throne, likewise, today, they are wielding in modern politics a no less real power, and one has the impression that women's political vote, despite the fact that there is a Communist majority of women in Parliament, is bound to have increasing weight and significance and will bring a new and useful element into the political life of the nation.

KAIFENG TODAY

Hsieh Ching-an

OVER three months have passed since Kaifeng was taken after a six days' furious battle, by the Communists and retaken shortly afterward by the Government, yet this city still remains a picture of desolation and ruin.

The drum tower, which used to be a beautiful landmark in the center of town and which became a target during the fierce street fighting, is now nothing but a big, flat mound of debris. Nearby, the Commercial Press and its adjacent shops have been turned into heaps of rubble. The Provincial Government buildings also have been completely destroyed. During the battle, a large number of public offices, schools and private houses, such as the attractive Italian-designed Post Office, the Liang Ho Middle School, and others, were burned to the ground. Perhaps the most striking and gruesome places of destruction are the heavily damaged city gates and the Dragon Pavilion, a historic spot where, it is said, Chao K'ang-yin had proclaimed himself the first emperor of the Sung Dynasty some hundreds of years ago. There are still many rotten corpses buried in the general rubble.

Military Have Free Hand

Despite what may be said to the contrary, it is the military officers and not the civil officials that dominate the city and its environs. The streets and market places are full of soldiers who are free to do pretty much as they like since none of the townspeople dare to interfere with them.

Under the pretext of inadequate housing, they do not hesitate to commandeer public buildings, schools and even private residences. For example, the YMCA has been forcibly used as the headquarters of a certain brigade commander whose staff members and their families occupy all but four rooms of the entire compound, in complete disregard of a notice put up in the hall strictly prohibiting troops from occupying missionary premises by order of the city garrison commander.

At the city gates, soldiers search the passersby at will. Everyone must get down from his rickshaw and walk humbly and respectfully before the sentries through the crumbling gates; that is unless he rides in a motor car, in which case he is presupposed to belong to the powerful and wealthy class and is not bothered. This is reminiscent of the Japanese administration before VJ Day when one had to bow humbly before the Dai Nippon Imperial Army. Chinese soldiers beating up poor coolies in the streets or fighting in theaters are a common sight. Public opinion is beginning to become inflamed.

General Chang Ch'en has succeeded General Liu Mao-en as the Governor of Honan, and with the seat of the Provincial Government removed to Chengchow, that strategic hub of the Ping-Han and Lung-Hai Railway lines, Kaifeng is virtually no longer the capital of the province. All the bureaus, the chief public offices and the leading financial organizations will, of course, be transferred to Chengchow.

This worries the Kaifengites, who have not yet recovered from the shock and fright of the bitter fighting. They are already worrying about their future, wondering whether the removal of the provincial government does not mean that the authorities ceased to consider Kaifeng a city of importance and whether the Communists will take advantage of this to stage a comeback before long. But it is the poor white collar workers who always suffer most. In this case they must go to Chengchow along with the Government, leaving their families behind because of the dearth of living quarters. Though Chengchow is but a few hours from Kaifeng by train, they may be as far apart as the poles should the railway be destroyed or cut, as it has often been before.

Almost all the big shops remain closed. This may partially be due to the fact that they are unable to replenish their stocks which have either been sold or looted or consumed by fire during the fighting.

Fear Exorbitant Taxes

There is another reason, however, and that is that they dare not open their doors for fear of being compelled to pay exorbitant taxes and levies. Those whose shops had been bombed by the Government planes cannot, for the most part, afford to erect new buildings, and those who can are somewhat reluctant to do so since the future is so uncertain.

Therefore, many shopkeepers have set up stalls on the sidewalks with the result that it is almost impossible to thread one's way through the crowd of hawkers, vendors and their wares. Commission agents and auctioneers have sprung up like mushrooms since lots of people who plan to leave the city for good are anxious to dispose of their clothes, furniture and household goods. However, since purchasing power is low, customers are few. Commodity prices are quoted in fapi or gold yuan. The cost of living has gone up considerably and it is very difficult for the poor to keep body and soul together.

After the big battle, National Honan University started moving to Soochow and a great number of students tried to flee southward. Schools of all grades stopped functioning and many of them cannot be reopened for lack of funds, classroom space and equipment. At the present time, only four of the dozens of middle schools are able to resume classes. This means that many young people will be unable to continue their education, since not many parents can afford to send their children to school in other places.

In spite of the huge losses suffered by the Lung-Hai Railway Administration, Mr. Wu Shih-en, the Deputy Director, has again managed to have the line repaired under the most trying circumstances and train travel between Chengchow and Hsuchow is once more possible. Undoubtedly conditions in Kaifeng will be greatly improved with the restoration of railway communications, although nobody is counting on their remaining so for any predictable length of time.

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A YEAR OF INDEPENDENCE

(This is the second of a series of three articles by our India correspondent dealing with the social and political problems confronting India today. This article was written before the outbreak of India's most recent hostilities.—Editor)

Harin Shah

THE average man in India is left in an emotional and political void. He labored for independence, and he has attained it. He is unsympathetic with the Right, but he finds the Left unacceptable. He is strongly against joining with the Anglo-American bloc, but can't bring himself to fall in with the Soviet bloc. And meanwhile the twin treacheries remain, armed and mobilized—Moslem communalism and Hindu communalism—the terror of India.

Before the partition, the Congress was not the Government, yet as a great mass organization it held the field more strongly against the combined force of the Moslem League and the Hindu Mahasabha than any government could.

Today, the Congress controls all the Central and Provincial Indian Governments, but its force as a mass organization has dissipated. The League may be more or less defunct at present among the 40 million Moslems remaining in India after partition, but it is becoming ever stronger in the despotic and theologic Government of Pakistan, the largest Moslem country in the world. And the League is aiming for leadership of other Moslem countries where a desire to rehearse the days of Ghengis Kahn still lurks. On the other hand, the Hindu Mahasabha inevitably has an increasing appeal for an increasing number of Hindus.

Can it be claimed that the menace of Moslem separatism has been mastered with the partition of India? The facts are otherwise. Moslems, whether in Pakistan or the Indian Union, have now found a fantastic illusion transformed into an exhilarating reality, with lots of moral support not only from the medival Moslem countries of the Middle East but from American-influenced countries like Turkey as well. All the extravagant claims and theories of the Moslem League stand vindicated in the eyes of the common Moslem by the simple fact of partition. Every Moslem today is, quite naturally, a more determined, if masked, admirer of the League.

Driven From India

Hindus in Pakistan, who numbered 15 million, have mostly been rooted out and driven into India. The Nehru Government is spending every last ounce of its energy in trying to thwart the Hindu cry for a theological state of India in which a Moslem can live only as a serf—a state in which the Indian Moslems are treated as the Hindus are treated in Pakistan.

As has been pointed out in the first article of this series, the Moslems remaining in India constitute India's gravest problem. The Congress and the leftist parties failed utterly to capture their loyalty at the time when there would have been a reasonable chance of success—the time of psychological shock when blood flowed profusely on both sides of the newly created frontier. Nor can the Moslems be absorbed in or enthused with a healthy movement to build up a free and democratic India.

The propped up organizations of Nationalist Moslems, too, have withered and died out while the few leaders among them have been embalmed into high Indian administrative and diplomatic jobs. The Hindu Mahasabha provides a remarkable, if terrorizing, parallel to the Moslem League. Its influence spread rapidly during partition days and it succeeded in soaking itself in the blood of the best the world possessed, the blood of Mahatma Gandhi. It may look inactive today, for tactical reasons, but its appeal has not been replaced by any more healthy, militant appeal. Every Moslem as an agent of Pakistan, and, as such, a hostile alien.

Congress Threatened

The great redoubtable force of Indian democracy—the Congress—is in ruins. Its members' standard of selfless service and sacrifice is steadily declining. Congress party workers are caught in a whirlpool of lust for power, while the people wait in vain for them to utilize their energies in a drive that is positive, nation-building and militant.

The huge army of party workers for whom the spoils of victory failed to materialize in the form of jobs are tempering with party administration. One wonders whether the great national organization is rushing to the edge of the precipice—going the way of China's Kuomintang! And as if all these outside threats were not enough, a strong enemy has arisen within the Congress itself. Provincialism has raised its ugly head, with the obvious duplicity of some of the frontline Congress leaders themselves. Meanwhile, the desertion of Congress by the entire Left has been completed with the secession of the Socialist Party. While this comforts the top capitalists, their caste brothers in the middle bracket secretly lend their ears to the whisperings of the rising socialists. Again a parallel with the China situation! Nehru and his progressive colleagues are embarrassed by the warmth of the capitalists; they are being pressed hard toward the popularized dictates of militant Hindu communalism.

The industrial truce, which the Nehru Government achieved a couple of months ago at a tripartite labor-employer - Government conference, turned out to be almost stillborn. In the name of beautiful shibboleths like "the shyness of capital," the capitalists went on strike when, actually, a gigantic nation-building program could have been launched.

Princes Pull Out

If the glow of liberation and freedom has been felt anywhere in India, it has been felt by that one-third of the country which used to be nicknamed "Indian India" by the British, the five hundred and odd Indian kingdoms ranging in size from patches of land not much bigger than courtyards to territories larger than some European countries. As a parting kick, the British relinquished their "suzerainty and paramountcy" over the Indian princes and returned to them their "full sovereignty."

It was a magnanimous sabotage, but Sardar Patel, the Congress Deputy Prime Minister, battled with history-making triumph and liquidated all the autocratic States administrations. All the princes have been pensioned off, and as many as two hundred states have already been merged into the provinces. Barring a few large states, whose appointed day is bound to come in due course, they as a whole have been welded into unions with popular cabinets. Under the dual pressure of sweet diplomacy and threat of popular revolt, the princes have pulled out.

Meanwhile, a full-dress war continues between Pakistan and India in Kashmir, and a cold war is going on in Hydrabad. Pakistan has equipped thousands of traditionally troublesome tribal Pathans with modern arms and has turned them loose into Kashmir by way of her own territory.

The raiders were first officered by men of the Pakistan Army who were "on leave." Today, regular battalions of the Pakistan Army, employing all heavy arms except aircraft and tanks, are fighting Indian troops on a front several hundred miles long which touches the borders of Soviet Russia, Afghanistan and China. This action of Pakistans is motivated by nervousness as to which way the predominently Moslem population of Kashmir will decide to go—with Pakistan, or with India. It is a desperate effort to force the decision.

It has been established that the ruler of Hydrabad has been acting in fulfillment of his clandestine parleys with Pakistan and some other Moslem countries and she awaits the inevitable action—a military expedition of the Indian Union Government.

REVIVE THE BUILDING TRADE

J. R. Kaim

COMPARATIVELY large idle funds are looking for investment. People who sold their holdings in foreign exchange and bullion to the Government, merchants who for one reason or another wanted to get rid of certain goods, insurance firms and various other groups and individuals are eager but hardly in a position to make use of accumulated funds. On the other hand, the real estate market is still almost dead and, probably, will remain so until the prevailing rent regulations will be altered, and fundamentally so.

This writer certainly does not pity the poor house owners. He knows, and so do the majority of Shanghai's residents, that neither all building companies nor all individual house owners are losing money. We all know of the key money racket, no matter what its disguise. We all know that rents collected by some house companies are by no means unrealistic. However, we also know that thousands of people pay rents between GY0.10 to GY0.50 per room or about the equivalent of one US dollar for a whole house, possibly with two gardens and a garage. Thus, the actual situation today is that while some people pay the equivalent of 20 American dollars and occasionally almost double, for one room, others pay about as many cents per room, to say nothing of those benefactors of humanity who themselves pay around GY10 for a house but sublet it for GY100 and more per room.

City Overcrowded

While the city is overcrowded, building activities are very limited. True, there is some building activity, but apart from houses which companies have ordered to be constructed for their staffs—in order to husband the ridiculously high key money—the building industry is by no means busy. If information obtained is correct, most of the houses constructed recently are comparatively primitive and, from the appearance of the material used, are certainly not built for eternity.

Architects claim that up to the middle of August, the building costs were low and that in many cases they were even lower than in prewar years. Almost all of the material used, they say, is locally manufactured; while the quality may not always be of a high standard, such small residential buildings certainly are better than nothing. Real estate people say, however, that only one apartment house, and not a big one, has been built after the war.

To construct good, stable buildings, of course, would involve large capital and would need certain imported materials. Even if such imports were permitted, however, no one would dare invest in the building industry so long as the question of rents remains unanswered. The dilemma faced by the authorities in this respect is obvious enough: with wages and salaries frozen at their August 19 level, it surely is not easy to decide that rents are to be normalized. Yet, the problem must be tackled somehow, firstly in order to encourage the building of homes —necessary from many viewpoints, of which the sanitary question is not the least—secondly in order to absorb idle funds, thirdly in order to clear the chaos now prevailing on the rental market, fourthly to create work for local industries and their employees.

Rackets Would Disappear

While it is complete nonsense that people pay a few cents for a whole house and while it is a shame what other people charge for "taking over furniture" by the prospective buyer of a house or flat, it is evident that such rackets would disappear once the building industry could and would be encouraged. The very innocent house-owners who for years have shared in the key-money racket and who at present consider it a favor to permit the "taking over" of a flat by a new party and who, of course, want such kindness to be paid for, may shed tears once new houses are built and rents normalized. The population as a whole, however, would benefit. Industries, too, would benefit and people would get work and obtain shelter.

It goes without saying, on the other hand, that a building program can be realized only if those who invest can be sure not to lose money in consequence of unrealistic policies.

Such unrealistic policies are responsible for the dilapidation of hundreds of buildings in Shanghai which, shortly before the Pacific War showed hardly any signs of decay. They are responsible also for the agony of the building industry after the war.

Recently, some building contractors were reported to have declared that after the promulgation of the new currency they were, unfortunately, obliged to alter their pre-August estimates. They are said to have raised them quite nicely although there was hardly any reason for big hikes. It may well be anticipated that such racketeers would decide to descend from their high throne once building would be considered a normal industrial ac-

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tivity and not a luxury or a risk.

The question of rents will have to be tackled in the near future, and the problem's solution will have to be brought into concert with the wage-and-salary policy, no matter whether new houses are built or not. Evidently, this is the moment to decide on Shanghai's future housing problems and to decide on the means and ways to revive the city's half-dead building industry. Such a decision would help those who are without a decent home. It would aid those house owners who, for years, have obtained practically no rents and would hit those who, for years, have made a splendid living by transforming dusty flats and dilapidated houses into shiny gold-bars.

Apparently, the funds are available. The bulk of the materials needed, too, are obtainable. The question of imports needed by house constructors could be tackled without altering the import scheme in general. And while thousands of laborers would be certain to have work for many months and while dozens of factories would be busy, one of the city's most disgusting rackets would disappear.

Who's Who in China

Jen Lin-sun

(任 玲 遜)

RICHARD L. JEN, Journalist; Born in 1907, native of Hoshan, Kwangtung; educated at Anglo-Chinese College, Tientsin; Yenching University, Peiping; and University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, U.S.A. News Editor, the Peiping Chronicle 1932-33; English Editor, Central News Agency, Tientsin, 1933-34; Chief of English Department, Central News Agency, Nanking, 1934-35; Chief of English Department, Central News Agency, Shanghai, 1935-38; Editor-in-Chief, the China Fortnightly, Chungking, 1939-40; Chief of the Hongkong Bureau of Central News Agency, 1941-42; Chief of the India Bureau of Central News Agency, New Delhi, 1942-43; Chief of the London Bureau of Central News Agency, 1943-48; now Chief of the San Francisco Bureau of the same Agency. Has contributed articles to the China Critic; the Chinese Republic; T'ien Hsia Monthly; and the China Quarterly; Address: c/o Central News Agency, Nanking.

The Week's Business

WITH business on wholesale markets supervised, transactions were limited during the week ending Wednesday, September 15, while prices were irregular. Indications are, however, that small turnovers were not caused by tight money. Rather was the reluctance of traders caused by the uncertainty as to what is and what is not considered legal. Since dealers are not supposed to keep stocks above their regular turnover during three months and as such regulations may be interpreted differently, most dealers were not too eager to purchase large quantities. On the other hand, holders of stocks of imported goods were not eager to sell large quantities either. Several chemical products were sold in extremely small quantities only, while others were curtailed by the respective wholesalers.

In many lines, prices charged on wholesale markets were below their August 19 levels. In others they seemed to be at the same level whereas in reality the standard of the goods offered was not the same as before. On the retail foodstuff market, housewives probably found the correct description of what was going on when stating that buffalos have more bones now than ever before, while hens obviously dislike normal-sized eggs.

It goes without saying, businessmen explained, that so far as manufactured goods are concerned one can adhere to any fixed price so long as the standard of the products in question is not fixed also. This may refer to textiles as well as chemical products such as candles, soap and pharmaceutical products.

Trading with the interior provinces was reported to have been limited during the week under review whereas exports were satisfactory at least in some lines. They were not satisfactory in others due to the reluctance of producers to sell at fixed prices, while exporters were not permitted to increase their bids. One of the items reported in this respect referred to frozen eggs which, prior to the promulgation of the new currency used to be purchased by a combine of both Chinese and foreign firms for being shipped to Britain, with the Central Trust acting as the State's agency.

On the other hand, reports from Tientsin stated that exports from North China were very satisfactory, with bristles topping the list of valuable cargoes.

On the financial market, conditions were unstable during the week under review. Interest rates charged by private money lenders came down to eight percent per month because holders of idle funds were eager to invest capital somehow. As the sale of foreign exchange to appointed banks continues, idle funds have increased rather than declined compared to August 23, date of the reopening of banks after the promulgation of the new currency. At that time, the commercial interest rate was 15 percent per month.

Reports from Canton reaching Shanghai during the week under review, indicated that from that city large amounts in GY have been remitted to Hankow and other provincial cities with a view to being used on the commodity market. Raw materials top the list of such purchases. In Shanghai, deposits with local banks were reported to have increased by more than 100 percent since August 23, with one of the Government banks said to hold deposits of more than GY8,000,000. Furthermore, it was reported that the Central Bank and its appointed banks have collected 420,942.88 ounces of gold, 433,501.03 ounces of silver apart from US$11,493,396.21 and HK$4,327,757.63 since August 23.

With a view to absorbing idle funds, the Government is preparing the marketing of new shares of Government-owned enterprises not only in Shanghai but also in the provinces. Bankers doubt, however, that private demand for such securities will be strong; they made it clear that while there can be no doubt that the shares will be absorbed by banks and other financial institutions, the demand by private investors would be greater if the companies involved would be put under commercial management.

On the whole, conditions on the various commodity markets during the week under review were described as erratic. An amazingly great number of checks were reported to have been dishonored; according to the Shanghai Clearing House, the total amount of dishonored checks during the week ending September 11 aggregated to 8,380 checks amounting to GY2,423,943.25. In view of the fact that the Stock Exchange is closed, while trading was limited on other exchanges, that amount is to be considered huge.

Quotations

	Sept. 8	Sept. 15
	GY$	GY$
Wheat Four	7.25	7.12
White Rice, first	20.80	20.70
Peanut Oil	59.90	60.00
Raw Silk "C"	—	1,580.00
Jap. Rayon	1,133.50	1,333.50
Cot. Yn. (42)	—	1,015.00
Cot. Yn. (20)	683.00	707.00
Koo Pun Soap	27.00	24.00

US Magazine Roundup

Saturday Evening Post

EDGAR Snow reveals what the world can expect from Jawaharlal Nehru in his article titled "Can Gandhi's Heir Do His Job?" appearing in the *Saturday Evening Post* for August 28, 1948. In describing the man himself, Mr. Snow says: "Nehru is full of quiet dignity, yet periodically he relishes an opportunity to administer a little well placed violence. Unlike Gandhi, he is impatient with fools and stupidity. When confronted with a dramatic example of either one, he itches to correct it by extremely direct intervention. Once while the Asian Affairs Conference was meeting in the capital at his invitation, he restored order by going down into the audience and boxing the ears of some noisy countrymen. He seems to get physical relief from such encounters. They may help compensate for the long years —11 (he says) spent in British jails —during which he had to reconcile himself to the tortuous slowness of all change in India. Incidents of that kind don't diminish Nehru's popularity, but rather appear to reassure his followers that their believed 'Panditji' is sure of his authority and right to act."

Mr. Snow further describes Nehru as having an "overt, dynamic approach to life, progmatic logic, an easy habit of command, a liberal respect for the constitutional evolution of society," all of which "seem to trade to his worldly, westernized father. These qualities are in seeming contradiction to the "aloneness, sudden humility, absence of indulgence and pose in his personal life, and a masochistic devotion to causes" which may be a result of his 32 years of devotion to Mahatma Gandhi. But, the author points out, unlike Gandhi, Nehru was never a pacifist.

"Immensely erudite, Nehru has conducted his own search for truth by the wide use of a splendid intellect, combined with rare courage of action, to reach out eagerly toward the limits of man's knowledge in every direction . . . Yet Nehru is far from being 'typical' of even modern Indians. 'I have become a queer mixture of East and West,' he once wrote, 'out of place everywhere, at home nowhere.' . . . A passionate nationalist, he would cheerfully have destroyed the British Government if he could have won India's freedom. Yet his resolves were frequently undermined by powerful internationalist convictions . . . Self-styled socialist with both his head and heart, Nehru is now the responsible chief of a non-socialist government which has forbidden strikes and jailed dozens of labor leaders . . . He has no organized following and little direct control over the bureaucracy through which power is now administered . . .

"Although he considers Pakistan a 'historical throwback,' it must be said that Pandit Nehru has tried to accept the reality of it in good faith. He has been a positive influence for friendly relations between the two dominions, and I found that fact freely acknowledged in Karachi. Because of it—and because after all there are still about 40,000,000 Moslems living under his protection—anyone who talks of turning India into a 'Hindu power' infuriates him. 'The idea of a theocratic state has no place in the mind of modern man,' he repeats. 'As far as India is concerned, I can say with some certainty that we shall proceed on secular and national lines in keeping with powerful trends toward internationalism. The only ultimate aim we can have is that of one world.'"

Mr. Snow goes on to say that, despite Nehru's immense popular following, he does have enemies—from both the extreme right and the extreme left. The Mahasabha, a group militant Hindu fanatics "with strong Fascist overtones," went so far as make open threats against Nehru, Gandhi and the Congress Party, and secretly conspired to overthrow the state and replace it with a Hindu raj. Armed Communist bands are agitating in the south for civil war. At the burial of Gandhi's ashes, Nehru admitted that his government "may have been too weak" in dealing with such enemies and issued orders for their suppression. "Thus," Mr. Snow points out, "Gandhi's death rather ironically became the cause of violent interference with the freedom of groups which themselves employ violence in political struggle."

As to the course of economic development of his country which Nehru has elected to follow, Mr. Snow says: "Responsibility of power has also revealed that Nehru's socialist aims are now limited by the horizon of what he calls the 'larger considerations' or the 'long view.' Each step toward progress, as he sees it, has to fit into a pattern of compromise between the ideally desirable and the imminently necessary and possible. And the 'imminently necessary' now is increased production rather than radical social experimentation. Nehru believes. India doesn't produce enough to eat or wear; only a fourth of the population is adequately fed or clothed . . . In natural resources India ranks third among the nations of the world, but her position as an industrial power is only eighth . . .

"Long ago the Congress Party adopted a platform calling for early nationalization of defense and 'key industries.' . . . To the chagrin of the socialists, however, the program makes no specific recommendations for nationalizing existing industry, merely promising government ownership of some types of new industry. If not entirely Nehru's own program, it has his blessing. He believes then in a 'mixed economy'—for five years at any rate. The Congress Party has given assurance that during that period little will be done to interfere with private ownership . . . Nehru still insists upon a thoroughgoing change in the agrarian economy. So far, he admits, the results have been modest reforms at best. 'But large estates are being broken up; soon there will be no more,' he told me. 'There has been no land revolution, but it will come later.' . . . Internationally, India 'must keep out of trouble.' He has repeatedly said that India must not enter either of the world's two hostile camps. . ."

* * *

US News & World Report

"HOW to be happy despite China's woes: Live in Hong Kong and profit by them." This is the heading of a letter from the British Colony published in the June 25, 1948, issue of *US News & World Report*. The letter says:

"The British proudly describe Hong Kong as "the show window of the Empire." To the traveler, the place presents an idyllic picture of prosperity, order and stability in an Orient seething with political unrest, civil war and economic chaos. Business is booming. The people live in a world apart and regard with comfortable detachment the troubles of those outside. The "Russian problem," the strife in Palestine, even the civil war in neighboring China are little more than cocktail-hour topics in the Gloucester Hotel bar. Hong Kong is too busy turning a dollar—by every conceivable device—to be unduly concerned . . .

Traders and industrialists, stifled by China's fantastic inflation and Nanking's maze of official red tape, are moving to Hong Kong, where regulations are at a minimum and the economy is relatively stable. The newspapers almost every day report the establishment of new businesses here. Industrialists, unable to get equipment and raw materials through China's import barrier, are moving their plants to Hong Kong, where they can import all they wish as long as they have the foreign exchange. A Chinese Government official estimated "flight capital" from Shanghai to Hong Kong at no less than US$10,000,000 a month.

Hong Kong presents itself to the stranger as a prosperous, clean and orderly city. But behind that facade there is poverty surpassed only in the worst slums of Shanghai and Bombay. The population of Hong Kong has more than doubled since the war's end, with nearly 2,000,000 crowded into quarters originally occupied by less than 800,000. In the native quarter, families of 10 persons crowd into tiny cubicles, and coolies can afford nothing more than bed space in packed dormitories. 50,000 Chinese children are unable to enroll in the overcrowded schools.

But, to the traveler from Shanghai, Saigon, Singapore or Batavia, Hong Kong is a haven of comfort, cleanliness and lush living."

NEWS OF THE WEEK

China Wants Early Japan Peace; West Said Seeking Showdown

RUMORS have been persistent for some time that the Chinese Government will shortly make a move to bring about an early settlement of the Japanese peace problem. One story stated that top government leaders including Foreign Minister Wang Shih-chieh, President of the Judicial Yuan Wang Chung-hui, Secretary-general Wu Te-chen of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang and presidential Secretary-General Wu Ting-chang met on September 11 to discuss the problem and came to the conclusion that an early peace treaty for Japan would greatly facilitate stability in the Far East.

It was further alleged that the first move in this direction will probably be made by Foreign Minister Wang Shih-chieh when he is in Paris attending the meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations. He is expected to sound out other foreign ministers concerned on the prospects of a speedy settlement.

Such rumors have gained wide circulation because a series of events seem to indicate that there is something in the wind. General Chang Chun, onetime Chinese premier, openly voiced his conviction that the Chinese Government will seek cooperation of the other Allies for an early peace settlement in Japan. During his recent visit to Japan, General Chang said at the Tokyo Correspondents' Club: "I am fully sympathetic with the Japanese Government and people in wishing for an early conclusion of the peace treaty, thereby restoring Japan's independence and enabling her to return to the family of nations. I'm also firmly of the belief that the Chinese Government, consistent with her policy to convene the peace conference at an early date, will continue in her efforts to negotiate with the other countries concerned to work out a solution for its early realization."

* * *

Sino-Japanese Cooperation

GENERAL Chang urged that Japan's economic reconstruction be carried out with an eye to the co-prosperity of all the Far Eastern nations. His statement reminded us of Japan's war-time policy of bringing about co-prosperity in all the nations of the Far East. According to General Chang, just as world peace and security are indivisible, it is equally true that "the economic reconstruction of the war-torn nations, upon which so much depends for peace and security of the world, is also indivisible."

Any assistance given to Japan's reconstruction program, he added, must be viewed from the standpoint of the Far East as a whole and "the end must be to enable the Far Eastern countries to achieve equal and parallel development in their process of economic reconstruction and industrialization."

Further stressing the importance of Sino-Japanese cooperation, he said that from Japan's own standpoint it also is imperative for her to receive economic cooperation and assistance from other countries ("particularly her close neighbor China") for the achievement of a peaceful economy in Japan. He pointed out that Japanese economy must be reconstructed along the lines of "reciprocity and mutual assistance."

Referring to future Sino-Japanese relations, he reminded the correspondents of a statement by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek that China harbors no hatred toward Japan and emphasized that this statement is the embodiment of the traditional spirit of tolerance of the Chinese people.

Recent press reports indicate Sino-Japanese economic cooperation is taking concrete form. In addition to exports of iron ore from Hainan Island to Japan, the Government-operated National Resources Commission is reported in the press to have signed a contract for the shipment of 200,000 tons of iron ore from Tayeh to Japan, in spite of violent protests on the part of the Hupeh Provincial Council and other civic bodies. It is also disclosed that arrangements are being made for the shipment of coal from North China to Japan. Iron and coal are badly needed in Japan to step up her industrial production.

* * *

Japanese Vitality

THE *Far Eastern Economic Review* published in Hongkong praised Japan's rapid recovery under SCAP tutelage and said only nations suffering from an "inferiority complex" can object to the "remarkable results" Japan has achieved toward national rehabilitation under American guidance. As the magazine sees it, "against the tragic background" of turmoil in other parts of the world "the Japanese people have won the genuine, though grudgingly given admiration of the nations against which the armed might of Japan waged war only three years ago.... Japan's achievements in production and national discipline have added prestige to her old renown as a virile nation.... Forging ahead under the guidance of American occupation authorities, with a theologically inspired supreme commander at the helm, the Japanese have come to appreciate the benevolence of their former enemy and a relation of trust and growing friendship has developed."

Contrasting the "apathy of other Far Eastern countries" to the "vitality and productiveness of the Japanese," the magazine concluded: "Only a stagnant civilization and a people suffering from an inferiority complex object to the achievement of progress noted in Japan as they are in fright at seeing the dynamism of the unbroken and optimistic spirit of the defeated Japanese."

* * *

Gathering Storm

VIOLENT fighting suddenly flared up in the Manchurian corridor as 30,000 Communist troops launched concerted attacks against Government positions between Chinchow and the Great Wall city of Shanhaikuan. Whether this is the beginning of the long-rumored Communist autumn offensive is still unknown, but the Communist action seemed to have been well planned as all important railway stations along the 100-mile stretch of the Peiping-Mukden line came under fierce attack almost simultaneously. Railway traffic between Chinchow and Shanhaikuan has been suspended owing to heavy damage to the line at various points.

General Chang Liu-shih, Government military spokesman, told the press that judging from present Communist moves in Manchuria it is likely the Reds will resume active operations shortly. To meet any eventuality, 10,000 crack Nationalist troops are reported to have been airlifted from Chinchow to Mukden. Their arrival is generally thought to be the prelude to large-scale fighting in Manchuria.

Fighting also broke out anew in Hopei, particularly in the Peiping-Tientsin-Paoting pocket. The hit-and-run nuisance raids conducted by the Communists there have given General Fu Tso-yi considerable difficulty.

In Central China, heavy troop movements were reported. Top-level military conferences were held in Nanking, Hankow and Hsuchow to realize plans for checking the all-out Communist offensive expected some time this autumn. Although the nature and scope of the plans are being kept secret, Nationalist leaders are said to hold the belief that the next few weeks will witness determined Communist drives in Honan, Shantung, Kiangsu, Anhwei and Hupeh. General Teng Wen-yi, spokesman for the Ministry of National Defense, told reporters in Kaifeng that as a result of the new "military arrangements" undertaken by the Nationalists he expect-

ed the situation in Central China to be stabilized within the usual "six" months. He, however, did not disclose the nature of the arrangements.

* * *

Balanced Budget

FINANCE Minister Wang Yun-wu told the Legislative Yuan that since the currency reform financial conditions are "much improved" and expressed confidence that the Government for the first time since 1937 will be able to balance the budget in the second half of this fiscal year. In a more detailed report, he said expenditures in the second half of this fiscal year were estimated at GY3,000,000,000 and revenues at GY2,500,000,000, leaving a deficit of GY500,000,000. However, this will be plugged up by flotation of bonds and the American aid program.

The Finance Minister revealed that so far the Government has received US$44,000,000 worth of foreign currency, gold and silver through conversion, US$12,000,000 in foreign exchange from exporters and US$110,000,000 from Government banks for deposit in the Central Bank of China.

He also revealed that the current semi-annual budget salaries of public functionaries and army officers alone constitute appropriations totaling 250,000,000 Gold Yuan, while pay and allowances for soldiers requires another 270,000,000 Gold Yuan. In his judgment, any increase in these appropriations would offset the effort toward balancing the budget which, as it stands now, already leaves the Government 500,000,000 Gold Yuan in the red. Therefore he was opposed to bettering the treatment of government employees.

* * *

Showdown on Berlin

NOTHING concrete has as yet come out of the protracted negotiations between the West and the East on the Berlin issue and the West is talking about seeking a showdown. Whether this talk is just bluff remains to be seen. The Western powers claimed they were tired of what amounted to Soviet "double-dealing" and that there can be no continuation of such methods which lead nowhere. It was pointed out that the situation in Berlin has worsened and the entire outlook has deteriorated. A "very grave situation" has arisen over the expected breakdown of the talks, it was warned.

Meanwhile the Western Powers are said to be preparing to carry the Berlin crisis to the United Nations if the new talks planned for Moscow fail to break the deadlock and the blockade continues. The United States considered the blockade as a complete and direct violation of Article 2 of the United Nations Charter, which calls on all members of the UN to settle disputes by peaceful means. It is predicted that the Western powers probably will take the case before the General Assembly rather than the Security Council where the Russian veto could be used.

However, press reports indicated both the British and French Governments are reluctant to refer the matter to the United Nations, claiming every effort should be made to be patient with Moscow and persist in direct negotiations.

The British-licensed German press disclosed that Soviet leaders have drawn up plans for Communist action squads to seize power in Berlin on an "X day" soon after the American presidential elections in November. This followed the disclosure by American authorities that the Russians are harrassing the American airlift of Berlin with anti-aircraft fire, barrage balloons and blinding search-lights in addition to aerial maneuvers.

* * *

Churchill Losing Out

POLITICALLY, diehard Churchill is on his way out. Latest reports state that his leadership of the British Conservative Party and his entire political career are threatened by a revolt within the ranks of the Conservatives. For some time it has been rumored that a political split had occurred between Churchill and Anthony Eden. There are not only serious differences between them but the Tory party is split into two camps. The revolters are mainly young Conservatives, although some of the more advanced Tories are with them. The rebels consider Churchill an obstacle to the interests of the Tories because he will not listen to orders and claim that he is out-of-touch with the voting masses and that he is generally not the choice to be prime minister if the Conservatives win the next election.

The Conservatives have been in a dilemma over Churchill for a long time. They recognize that his is a magic name to millions, but the younger elements in the party believe the British public will cheer him as a national hero but vote against him as a Tory leader.

Some Tories say Churchill is a law unto himself. They complain that he scorns party guidance, gets up in Commons to make speeches which are his own and not the party's view and in a word lives upon his reputation as a great war-time leader.

However, to remove Churchill from the leadership of the Conservative Party would be no easy task. He has the backing of the old guard—the reactionaries from the ranks of the landed gentry who are all opposed to social progress in industry. He is an astute and stubborn tactician and an indomitable fighter.

Shanghai's American Daily— more than "just a newspaper"

During these trying post-war days, the Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury has slipped into a peculiarly intimate place in the minds and hearts of readers. Perhaps that is because it tries in every way to be as human as your best friend. Read it for true straight news, most of it printed at least 15 hours ahead of other Shanghai papers; for outspoken views; for bright touches and entertainment features which will take your mind off your troubles. For the times, subscription rates are low:

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Foreign Countries (Ordinary mail)	7.00
Single Copy	25 cts.

The Shanghai Evening Post & Mercury

19 Chung Cheng Road, Shanghai (13).

What US Papers Say

THREE years of US occupation of Japan were appraised editorially by the American press last week, following the third anniversary of VJ Day. Burma's current problems, and the question of a coalition government for China were also discussed in US newspaper editorials.

* * *

Occupation Of Japan

A *Washington Daily News* (Scripps-Howard) editorial recently sounded a warning that "definitely American had not yet won the peace in Japan." The newspaper paid tribute to achievements made by both the MacArthur administration and the Japanese themselves, but continued:

"Nevertheless, our optimism is somewhat more restrained than the general's. He should know and he may be right in his guess—we hope so. But it seems to us a bit premature to elevate our late enemy to the heights of loyalty earned in blood and sacrifice by our Filipino ally . . . . Certainly Japan is needed as a buttress of democracy in the Far East. But before we trust her as such, she will require more years of watchful guardianship. Of one thing we may be sure: If America is not her guardian, Russia will be. It is neither fair to ourselves nor to the Japanese to expect too much too soon. With Stalin's puppets even now setting up a North China People's government on the basis of their military gains, and the Red regime of North Korea challenging the new republic in Seoul, Moscow's pressure on Japan will increase."

The *Christian Science Monitor* also cautioned against too hasty acceptance of democratization of Japan. Recognizing the need for promoting a healthy Japanese economy to ease the burden on U.S. taxpayers, the *Monitor* editorial said: "Americans need to realize the fears of Japan's Far Eastern neighbors—which have suffered so disastrously from its attentions in the past—that the Rising Sun may again follow familiar patterns of economic and ultimately military aggression. It is conceivable that a revived but unregenerate Japan might even switch to an alignment with any great power which could offer it temporary material advantage. Hence the crucial importance of democratization. For this purpose, three years is little enough. Three generations is the sober estimate of Japanese liberals themselves . . ."

The *Baltimore Sun* pointed out that while America had been "magnanimous in victory," having "taxed ourselves heavily that the Japanese millions might have bread," and having given the Japanese a new constitution which, if implimented, will give the Japanese individual greater standing in his state than he ever had before, there are still many problems to be solved before Japan can take her place as a responsible member of the family of nations.

The editorial continued: "Our greatest difficulty has been the economic one. The Japanese economy is roughly comparable to that of Great Britain. Japanese food production is insufficient for her millions. Her raw materials are insufficient to support an industrial system big enough to provide jobs for all. She must import raw materials, fabricate them, and then sell them abroad for food and more raw materials."

The editorial then pointed out factors militating against a reopening of Japanese prewar markets, especially the resentment and fears of Japan's Far East neighbors, saying that "the Japanese huckster is not warmly welcomed in the lands where he used to strut." It went on to say, however, that "until trade is re-established on a scale sufficient to enable the Japanese to feed themselves, the difference between starvation and subsistence must be made up by the American taxpayer. Obviously, the latter is not going to provide much more than mere subsistence for his wards. Equally obvious, his wards are not going to be wholly content with their penurious lot. Another factor will be Communistic propaganda based on the low standard of living and directed against the United States . . . "Thus, it is apparent that the Japanese problem, as the American must face it, is far from solved. . . It is even possible that all the reforms we have sought to bring about, including those embodied in the new constitution, will prove ephemeral if we cannot find a workable answer to the crass problem of providing a living for the people."

* * *

Burma's Problems

THE political difficulties facing the Burmese Government were analyzed in a *Baltimore Sun* editorial on September 3, as reports reached here that Burma's Prime Minister, Thakin Nu, had told Parliament in Rangoon of weakening Communist influence. Thakin Nu said, according to a radio report, that his Government was convinced that the current uprising had been planned with outside help, mainly from Indian associates, and that the insurgents would resort to indirect methods such as strikes, now that the armed struggle had been lost. He warned that the Government would show strikers no mercy.

The *Baltimore Sun* called the situation in Burma still "precarious" despite gains against the Communist-tainted forces of Than Tun, and questioned the loyalty of other factions outwardly affiliated with the Central Government. The paper said in part:

"It would be wrong to conclude that the Communists created this disintegration in the first place. It is well to note that although the Communists have placed their southeast headquarters in Bangkok, they are making little progress in the integrated Kingdom of Siam, whose native modes of discipline have never been disrupted by foreign rule. "But in Burma, native rule was destroyed by foreign conquest 60 years ago. Now the colonial rule that replaced it has disappeared, too, and the Burmese are faced with the difficult task of creating a whole new national order. "As in China, where the older national traditions and disciplines have yet to be replaced by the new, the Communists have their best chance of setting up a Communist order."

* * *

Coalition Government

AMID mounting reports of a movement among Chinese leaders based in Hongkong for coalition with Communists in North China to oust the present Nanking government, the *New York Herald Tribune* expressed conviction that such a development would be the wrong answer to China's disunity. The editorial recognized that the Hongkong group opposed to the Chiang Kai-shek administration includes a number of men of considerable prestige and unquestioned patriotism who are fearful of right wing elements of the Kuomintang regime. The *Herald Tribune* continued:

"Much of the criticism of Nanking offered by this Hongkong group, while more bitter and emotional, is similar to criticism that has been made by American officials of various points of view. The remedy offered by the group, however, is not one that any well-informed and sensible American could endorse. The idea of coalition government backed by the Communists and by all other opponents of Nanking willing to take part in it, cannot be supported by anyone who hopes for development of democracy in China.

"The Nanking government is far from being a sound government; but there is more reason to hope that it will improve than to expect any good results from a coalition government including Reds. It is more sensible to encourage a stable currency than it is to give any sympathy to coalition proposals that would inevitably lead in direction of Red dictatorship in China. It is true that the effort to establish a sound currency faces many obstacles and also true that it will fail unless Nanking can keep government expenditures somewhere close to income despite the civil war. But this effort is, at the least, one that tends in the direction of competent government in China and not one that leads toward Russian domination of the Chinese people."

What Chinese Papers Say

MAJOR-GENERAL Chiang Ching-kuo's "tiger-hunting" was enthusiastically hailed in the Chinese press as marking the beginning of a "new era." The trial of Japanese war criminals in Tokyo was called a miserable flop, for which the United States was held responsible.

* * *

New Lease on Life

The *Chen Yien Pao* noted with great satisfaction that Shanghai has undergone a profound "change" since Chiang Ching-kuo, eldest son of the Generalissimo, was sent down here to supervise the implementation of emergency financial and economic measures.

"The iron-fisted handling of notorious civic leaders, plutocrats, rascals and racketeers by General Chiang shows that this change is proceeding apace. From the fact that the vast majority of the people rejoiced at the arrest of such big shots as Tu Wei-ping, Yung Hung-yuan, Chan Pei-ling, etc., we can see that this change has been earnestly desired and hoped for by the people. A study of the history of Shanghai reveals that the so-called 'civic leaders' and 'plutocrats' gained their influence and wealth through committing crimes at the expense of other people. Yet, Government officialdom invariably respected them as gods. This is the reason why the financial and economic situation in Shanghai has become so chaotic. General Chiang did just the opposite. With strong determination to fight it out, he handled these big shots without velvet gloves. Thanks to this, a change in Shanghai has been made possible.

"It is our hope that General Chiang will continue to fight to the bitter end, so as to enable Shanghai to take on a new lease on life and uproot all the corrupt and evil forces in this city."

While paying high tribute to General Chiang for taking drastic action against speculators and hoarders and profiteers, the *Chung Yang Jih Pao*, official Kuomintang organ, pointed out that it is necessary to find outlets for idle capital.

"We firmly believe," the paper wrote, "the government will fully appreciate the pressing need for directing idle capital into legitimate channels. A first step in this direction will be tightening of Government control over the private banks. Although the interest rates have been lowered, yet most banks still find it difficult to extend loans. Under such conditions, those people who hold idle capital should change their speculative mentality and invest their money in productive enterprises.

"Besides, the Government should intensify its efforts to prevent the flight of capital to the South. The port of Canton must be closely watched, because it is now an open secret that people are sending their money to Hongkong via Canton. If this loophole is not stopped, it will lead to grave consequences."

* * *

Tokyo Trial

The trial of Japanese war criminals in Tokyo, as the independent *Ta Kung Pao* sees it, has proved a ridiculous failure, because the accused simply turned the tables on the prosecution and seemed to have come out with flying colors.

The paper said: "*Central News Agency* dispatches from Tokyo stated that Tojo has now become a national hero as a result of his trial. The arguments of the prosecutor and the judges are sometimes so cunningly answered, that the more Tojo is tried the less evidence there is found of his alleged crimes. Ironically, the war crimes suspect and his defense counsels turned out to have the better reason. Not only have they succeeded in proving that the accused is not guilty, but they seem to have convinced people that the late President Roosevelt, in forcing Japan to wage a war of self-defense, was guilty. It is really a pity that the international Military Tribunal at Tokyo has been put into such an embarrassing position. It was really a surprise that the kind-hearted Americans should be defeated by the crafty, oily-tongued Japanese militarists.

"An analysis of the causes of the flop reveals that the United States is to blame. First, the United States has monopolized the trials and refused to allow any other nation to participate in it. But the American judges do not fully understand the past behavior of the Japanese militarists, their crimes and their cleverness. Second, from her subjective point of view, the United States considered Pearl Harbor as the beginning of the crimes committed by Japanese militarists, while as a matter of fact, Japan had been engaged in aggression against foreign nations for several decades. Third, the whole precedure of the trial has been influenced by US desire to accord generous treatment to Japanese war criminals....

"The trial of Japanese war criminals," the paper concluded, "has come to such a pass that the punishment of war criminals has lost all its meaning. It is really a surprise that justice should turn out to be on the side of Japanese militarists. We think it necessary to complain to the Tokyo tribunal, for China's war of resistance has now been dishonored...."

The *Shun Pao* also took the Tokyo tribunal to task for absolving the Japanese emperor from war responsibility.

The paper argued: "Common sense tells us that all those who understand the political situation in Japan know that the Mikado system served as a shield for all forces of aggression in Japan and that if we want Japaneese politics to be really democratized, this system must be abolished. The Potsdam Proclamation stipulates that there must be eliminated for all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest. . ."

* * *

France

The *Sin Wan Pao* sees in the political crisis in France a severe test for the middle-of-the-road parties.

The paper wrote: "Ever since General De Gaulle stepped down, the French Government has been in the hands of the third force, the so-called middle-of-the-road parties. However, recent developments seem to indicate that France has now come to the end of the middle course and that it cannot go any farther. It is chiefly because of the sharpening conflict between the Rightists and Leftists that the middle-of-the-roaders have been able to exist. However, the middle-of-the-roaders are not strong economically, nor do they command the support of the laboring classes. So it is extremely difficult for them to survive the present crisis. That's why, as a matter of fact, the defunct Marie cabinet bowed to the wishes of the plutocrats and big industrialists, thus losing its middle-of-the-road complexion. Naturally, this change aroused the hostility of the Leftists, who eventually forced the cabinet to resign.

"At present the extremists on the Right and on the Left in France are plotting to capture power. General De Gaulle has already openly demanded an early general election and the Communists have made a similar demand. The reason why they have done so is simply because they want to take advantage of the elections to seize power.

"But no matter which party emerges victorious, France will never have peace or tranquility. In fact, even civil war may break out.

"France can only pin her hopes on the middle-of-the-road parties. But so long as these parties cannot obtain the support of the people they will not be able to stand on their feet. Whether France's middle parties have come to the end of their road will have a great effect on the whole world. Therefore future developments in the political situation in France will be a most accurate gauge as to whether the world will be able to select a comparatively middle political course, or whether the world must choose between the Right and the Left."

The Review's English Lesson—XLIX

We are defining below some of the words which may have caused you difficulty in reading the editorials in *The China Weekly Review* of September 4. If you did have trouble with these expressions be sure to refer to the sentences from which they were taken to see how they were used.

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lull before a rapidly gathering storm (paragraph 1)—a quiet period before a time of agitation and upheaval that will come soon.

center of gravity (paragraph 2)—weight or place of concentration. The term is used in physics to mean the place in any body where the pull of the body towards the earth is greatest. The position of this center in a body determines its balance.

sat idly by (paragraph 3)—remained inactive. The expression conveys the idea that the subject has been lazy and inactive while an implied second force has been busy and industrious. In this instance, "by" is an adverb meaning "aside" or "apart".

to hold....at bay (paragraph 4)—a hunting term meaning to keep an animal in a position where there is no chance of escape or aggression. Used idiomatically it means to have an opponent in such a position that escape is impossible and he is forced to face you.

a last-ditch attempt (paragraph 4)—a final try or effort. The term was probably used in a military sense originally to mean that an army, driven back to its last defense or trench dug in the earth, has to make a final effort at resistance there.

stood on the defensive (paragraph 5)—maintained a defensive position.

air-tight net (paragraph 5)—impenetrable trap. Anything that is "air-tight" can not be permeated by air; hence the expression means something that leaves no loophole for an opponent. As most nets are woven in meshes, one that is air-tight and therefore has no holes between the threads is particularly impenetrable.

the most telling blow (paragraph 6)—the calamit that has had the most effect.

hit-and-run raids (paragraph 9)—sudden attacks after which the attackers immediately disappear. The term was originally applied to drivers of automobiles who, after hitting a person, drove off without stopping to give assistance or assume responsibility.

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armchair strategists (paragraph 2)—people away from the fighting who plan the movements and objectives of an army without any idea of actual conditions on the front. The term is consequently sarcastic as the plans may theoretically be sound but are not sound when put into practice.

a long-drawn-out affair (paragraph 6)—a prolonged, extended matter; something that will take a long and probably tedious time.

standing joke (paragraph 6)—a continuous subject for mirth.

shark (paragraph 12)—a particular type of fish which is very voracious and destructive. The term, when applied to a person, means someone who is both crafty and rapacious.

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well-defined states (paragraph 8)—states which are clearly outlined and whose form and significance are clearly understood.

broke down (paragraph 8)—separated into parts. The expression, as used here in "broke down the money to be spent on European recovery", means analyzed the various ways in which the money will be spent.

on the horns of a dilemma (paragraph 10)—facing a situation which provides choice between alternatives or "horns", any of which would be unsatisfactory. Using another common expression, we can define this as meaning having to decide between "the lesser of two evils".

to toe the line (paragraph 10)—the expression literally means, in a contest, to touch a starting or standing mark with the toes. Hence it has come to mean to act strictly according to a rule or standard.

* * *

As in the Chinese language, often simple and basic words in English are found to have many meanings. In the idioms above, for example, different forms of the word "stand" have appeared in the expressions "stood on the defensive" and "standing joke," and have often been found in idioms used in previous lessons. Below we give some illustrations of other ways "stand" may be used.

1) The government has decided **to make a stand against** (resist) the practices of black-marketeers.
2) He can not **stand** (bear) being laughed at.
3) The people had **stood** (been subjected to) many changes in government.
4) When applying for a job, he found that his previous experience **stood him in good stead** (was of advantage to him) and he got the position.
5) According to the terms of agreement the contract **will not stand** (hold good, continue in force) after six years.
6) I do not **stand a chance** (have a chance) of being admitted to college next fall.
7) He will **stand by** (support, defend) his party even if it is defeated.
8) It **stands to** (is obvious, is consistent with) reason that we can not play tennis if the courts are not dry.
9) He **stands up for** (supports) the cause of liberty and justice.
10) If you want to succeed in your job, it is wise **to stand in well** (keep on good terms) **with** your boss.

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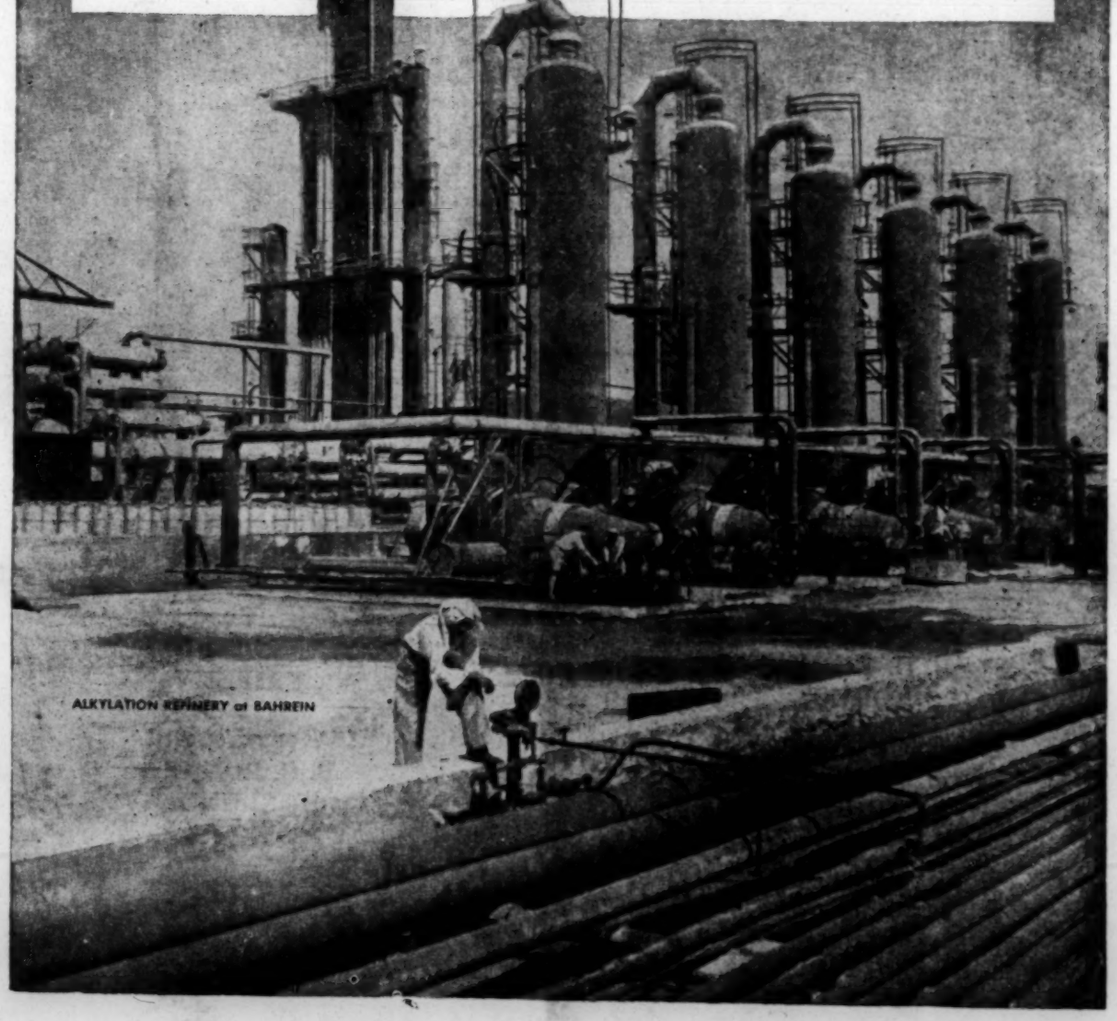

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